

# THE SUNDAY TIMES

The strange affair of the  
**JAMES BOND**  
novel that Ian Fleming wrote  
six years after his death  
by PETER FLEMING 21

## NEWS DIGEST

18 JULY 1971

### Nixon invites Heath holiday HQ

SIDENT NIXON has invited Mr Heath to his "White House West" in Clemente, California, later this summer. Henry Brandon, The President's press secretary, says the invitation is not only a gesture of good will but would also be something of a relaxation for the Prime Minister, with a beautiful beach in front of the President's villa and the sailing opportunities in the Pacific.

### Libby ace a victim

OF the three people who died in the Hotel blaze in Belfast early yesterday, Mr Ernest Strathdee, of Moneyreagh, a television broadcaster and former rugby international, is believed to have been a victim. He was 49 and had been married for 15 years. He was on holiday with his wife and two children when the fire broke out.

### Crash orphans three

THREE CHILDREN were seriously injured in a car crash near Harrogate which killed their parents, Thomas and Christine, yesterday. The children, aged 11, 10 and 9, were taken to hospital. The car was a Ford Barchin, owned by the family.

### Italy apartheid arrests

ITALIAN police raided Sydney houses yesterday and arrested three men said to be leaders of the Sydney University Anti-apartheid Movement. They were charged with possessing smoke bombs and were released without bail. Later, demonstrators disrupted the first rugby union test in Italy; the Springboks beat Australia.

### Die after downpour

LAST 35 people were killed, 18 injured in a major landslide in South Korea yesterday when over 10 inches of rain fell in just over four hours. The downpour, the heaviest in 30 years, caused landslides and the collapse of many buildings and walls.

### Man call: man arrested

FBI yesterday arrested 40-year-old Yorker John Joseph Berry following a phone call to a New York paper on Sunday demanding \$50,000 in return for information on the location of a bomb on an Aer Lingus 747 flight to Ireland. The plane landed at Boston but no bomb was found.

### Up, and a record

GORE, an Edinburgh University student, yesterday established a new British record of 21,800ft, smashing the old record, in an ascent from Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire. But he failed to break 30,000ft world record.

### Holiday children die

TEN children and their teacher were yesterday when their special holiday in Yugoslavia was cut short by a stationery goods train at an accident, Yugoslavia. An investigation ordered the driver and his assistant imprisoned on suspicion of ignoring a red light.

### An lib

of Zambian copper workers marched against at Kitwe and ordered drinks at the time the busbando opened the men objected to the invasion of a brawl developed and six people were injured.

### for gelignite

yesterday mounted a major search for gelignite for 200lb of gelignite in a Friday night raid on a magazine in a new generating station at Hill, Co. Wicklow. The main target of the raid is under a 24-hour guard.

### oid closes ward

LDREN'S ward at Stobhill Hospital, Glasgow, has been closed to admissions after a 10-year-old girl developed typhoid soon after being discharged. The girl's mother and two brothers have also developed typhoid and are now in the city's Ruchill Hospital.

### boys rescued

Young boys were saved from drowning in a swim in Christchurch Bournemouth, yesterday. Two of the boys, Sean and James Storey, were rescued by a lifeguard. The other two boys were rescued by a lifeguard. The boys were rescued by a lifeguard.

### le at Grand Prix

ere called to Silverstone during the Grand Prix yesterday when started to break down during the race. The car was a Ferrari 312. The driver was a British driver. The car was a Ferrari 312.

### no engine

INDLEY was puzzled when the car he was driving refused to start. He crossed the ignition wires, but it wouldn't start. He was driving a Ford. The car was a Ford.

## Wilson attacks the Labour pro-Marketeers

By James Margach  
Political Correspondent

HAROLD WILSON last night swung his leadership decisively and irrevocably against Britain's joining the Common Market for the Heath Government terms. At the end of a special all-day conference of Labour Party delegates in Central Hall, Westminster, he delivered this attack on Labour's pro-Market lobby led by his own deputy leader, Roy Jenkins.

"Those terms which we set out in detail in the Labour Government's White Paper of July 1967, and indeed made clear to Europe, are not the terms now before Parliament. It is irresponsible for anyone who knows the facts to assert otherwise."

Mr Wilson thus warned Labour pro-Marketeers like George Thompson, Michael Stewart and Harold Lever that they must toe the line or face the consequences of dividing the party.

All day the balance of the debate had been carefully preserved by the party chairman, Ian Mikardo. But Mr Wilson's speech told the pro-Marketeers that they have not the minutest hope that any compromise is now possible.

Mr Wilson attacked Mr Heath's personal record as Prime Minister, and on the Market issue in particular. "Now the man who has weakened and divided and embittered the nation seeks another blank cheque, an unconditional mandate, to lead the nation he has weakened, divided and embittered into yet another promised land. The Labour Party's position has been consistent, in government and out of government. Our attitude is now, and will continue to be, consistent with what we said last year in our manifesto."

"The Conservatives, on the other hand, have shifted their ground in a most cynical manner. Today Mr Heath talks about his vision of Europe. He did not talk much about that vision in last year's election campaign. He hardly talked about Europe. His manifesto said: 'Our sole commitment is to negotiate, no more, no less.'"

"But that is not what he has done. He hasn't simply negotiated, no more, no less. He has done a deal. He is ready to sign on the dotted line and he is ready to do so because he says that otherwise Britain is finished. If there is no alternative for Britain except Europe now, why did he not tell us a year ago that, in his defeatist view, there was no alternative? Why did he not have the courage to campaign on it in the election?"

"The nation has the right to know why what was hardly mentioned in 1970, is now being pushed through in 1971, whatever the terms. Mr Heath did not even offer that choice a year ago. He says it is the only choice now."

"It is not the only choice. By saying that it is, he is selling Britain short in office, as he did in Opposition. But he is using this tactic to railroad the people of this country into making their

### THE GREAT DEBATE NEWS REPORT

decision in a mood of panic and hysteria, instead of with the level-headed approach which such a decision requires."

Mr Wilson added this hit at Mr Heath: "Addressing his pliant cohorts in this hall three days ago, he had the effrontery to accuse this country of 'becoming obsessed with petty internal squabbles, becoming narky, bitter and unpleasant.' While he was speaking, a few hundred yards away in the House of Commons, MPs were forced to spend the day, his own Members cynically supporting, Labour Members bitterly opposing a tawdry little measure to cut off milk for seven-year-olds, and to make it illegal for councils who, on nutritional grounds, wanted to go on supplying it out of the rates."

The vitriolic bite of Mr Wilson's speech on Mr Heath's record surprised and stunned even many of his own supporters and sympathisers.

On New Zealand, Mr Wilson said: "I make this clear. I would not have recommended the Labour Cabinet to make the application for entry into the Market except on the basis of assured and continuing access into Britain of New Zealand produce. If I had, which would have been inconceivable, the Labour Cabinet would not, in my view, have agreed."

"Under the new terms there is no long-term guarantee whatsoever for New Zealand trade after the run-down in butter and cheese imports over the next five years. Every time, Mr Rippon [Mr Heath's negotiator] has evaded the issue, taking refuge in a vague agreement with the Six to discuss New Zealand further, and in a hollow optimism that everything will be all right on the night, three years hence."

"In my view the Conservative Government, in their rush to obtain terms—any terms—sold the New Zealand interest short, and for that reason the British entry short."

"For our housewives, it means an unnecessary tax on cheap, efficiently produced food, for one pur-

pose only—for the purpose of subsidising dear, inefficiently produced food."

"The leader of the Labour Opposition in New Zealand has condemned the terms roundly and in detail. So far as our party is concerned, I hope that readiness to take into account the views of our fellow Socialist parties does not stop short with Western Europe."

"They are the best terms, it is said, that the British Government could have got in the circumstances. That is not good enough for us. You don't judge your plenipotentiary on whether he did his best. You've got to ask whether his best was good enough."

"I state categorically that, whatever the outcome of the negotiations, I would not have been a party to a Labour negotiator approaching this vital sector of the negotiations on the basis with which the Conservatives were satisfied."

What was intended as a "take note" and neutralist conference was decisively swung by Mr Wilson against the Heath terms for going in—and in doing so the Opposition leader, speaking last in the conference, took many by surprise by the ferocity of his speech.

It is obvious that from now on Mr Jenkins, Mr Thompson, Mr Lever, Mr Stewart and others will be put in the defensive position of either going along with the majority opinion of the Labour movement—or being held responsible for splitting the party. Now that he has got all the big battalions in the party and trade unions on his side, Mr Wilson can afford to apply the big squeeze on the pro-European groups, and tell them that they must line up behind official policy to preserve unity.

Just how acute this dilemma is going to prove for the pro-Europeans is illustrated in the case of Douglas Houghton, chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, who is a dedicated European.

Mr Houghton told the pro-Europeans at a private rally which preceded the conference: "The pro-Europeans must not be faint-hearted and allow others to pin on us the label for being 'deviationists'. Don't let us lose our nerve. Those of us who still believe that our future destiny lies in Europe are only upholding what was the collective decision of the Labour Government."

Ronald Butt writes: Despite the tone of Mr Wilson's speech, pro-Market Labour MPs were insisting last night that their cause had taken a turn for the better. They argued that their success in preventing a vote yesterday was a real victory. They hope it will be the turning of the tide. At the least, they believe that although there will probably be a Labour three-line whip against the Market in the Commons in October, it will be accompanied by a provision to enable Labour pro-Marketeers to support the Market as a matter of principle.

Special debate report on pages 4 and 5

### 'Guerrilla settlements' in Jordan

THE JORDANIAN Government and Palestinian commandos were yesterday reported to have reached an agreement setting new rules for guerrilla operations in Jordan.

This follows renewed fighting between the two sides, set off by a massive Jordanian Army operation last week to evict commandos from bases in North Jordan.

Agreement was believed to have been reached through the mediation of a Syrian military delegation, which reached Amman on Friday, went back to Damascus overnight and returned again yesterday.

The delegation, which had talks with Jordanian military representatives and two Commando leaders visited the scene of the fighting during the last four days at Jerash, 30 miles north of Amman.

It is thought that commandos who had been based around Jerash would be allowed to operate freely in three new areas.

Earlier the Jordanian Government had said it pushed the commandos away from Jerash to Jbeil, an unpopulated district overlooking the Jordan Valley and the Israeli ceasefire line.

The fighting started when the commandos refused to move to the new area because they said it had no water. They said the army wanted to liquidate them.

The government said it decided to move the commandos because they were harassing villagers and interfering with crops.

### Minister probes smallpox jabs

By Denis Herstein

A PROBE into mass smallpox vaccination policies has been ordered by the Health Minister, Sir Keith Joseph. His move follows disclosures last week that smallpox vaccinations now kill more people in Britain than the disease.

"I have referred the matter to a specialist advisory committee which should report back to me by the end of the month," Sir Keith said yesterday. The investigation was ordered "in the light of all the risks."

In the past 20 years, 100 people have died from the effects of immunisation, mostly from brain inflammation or a serious skin rash; but only 37 of 103 cases have died of smallpox.

Giving these figures in the current British Medical Journal, Professor George Dick of London's Middlesex Hospital, calls on the Government to reverse its vaccination policy. He wants selective vaccination, concentrating on high risk groups like doctors and nurses, military personnel and airline pilots.

Under this scheme, any smallpox outbreak would be dealt with by a rigorous control programme. This would include isolating cases, and tracing vaccination and supervising all contacts. Recent research has developed new drugs which may prevent smallpox contacts getting the disease.

Smallpox is becoming less common throughout the world. Only four years ago, when the World Health Organisation started a



Sir Keith: report this month

rigorous programme aimed at eradicating smallpox, 131,000 cases were reported from four countries. By last year the figure had dropped to 27,369 from 21 countries. The USA has been free of smallpox since 1949.

But medical experts in these countries are now arguing for a shift in policy to one which recognises that the risks of prevention outweigh those of the disease.

In Britain, the Department of Health recommends that children shall be vaccinated in their first year; at school entry; and several times during adult life.

The Joint Committee on Vaccination and Immunisation will meet on July 26 to discuss the risks, and report immediately to Sir Keith.

### Shots, then hippies flee Ibiza

By Tim Brown  
Madrid

HIPPIES, many of them British, were fleeing from the Mediterranean holiday island of Ibiza yesterday, following a battle with Spanish police in which shots were fired. Unconfirmed reports said that after the battle at Santa Eulalia between 130 members of a hippie colony and police armed with sub-machine guns, rifles and clubs about 20 were injured and 50 were under arrest.

Authorities remain tight-lipped about the incident and refused to comment on a report that one hippie was killed in the clash.

The trouble started just after dawn on Friday when civil guards surrounded a farm run by a partially blind American, Robert Berge, known as "Blind Bob," who has established a hippie colony of all nationalities, their ages ranging from 19 to 35.

The hippies were ordered to leave because of overcrowding, and later Berge, with a crucifix in one hand and a white stick in the other, led his "family" into the village for a birthday party at a bar.

Berge said yesterday: "The owner said he could not cater for so many people. We bought wine and went to a nearby piece of waste land where we sang and danced. A hosepipe was played on us. We took it as good fun until the Spaniards lashed the hose across the face of one of us. We tried to grab the hose. Watching Spaniards thought a fight was starting, threw bottles and attacked us with stones, iron rods and pieces of wood."

The bar owner invited the hippies back into his premises but within half an hour a bus load of 30 police and civil guards arrived and surrounded the building.

Eyewitnesses said that shots rang out and everyone inside was ordered to leave. As they came out they had to run a gauntlet of flailing truncheons. "I saw about 20 young people including teenage girls beaten senseless," said holidaymaker James Ferguson, a 29-year-old draughtsman, of Lewes Road, Brighton. "It was horrifying to watch. Shots were fired in the air and at the feet of fleeing hippies."

"One hippie who tried to climb a wall to escape appeared to have been shot down and killed. Throughout the night parties of police and villagers chased hippies through the streets. Bars were closed and tourists were advised to 'keep out of the way'."

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Peking plays  
down visit  
by Nixon

By James Reston, Peking

THE CHINESE Government seems to be making less fuss over President Nixon's forthcoming trip to Peking than most other Governments in the world. The People's Daily, which comes out any old time of the day when there is news to report, gave the story seven lines in a corner of Page 1 on Friday. Yesterday it did not mention the incident, ignoring President Nixon's and Dr Henry Kissinger's comments on the matter.

Peking Radio merely read the official communique and then dropped the subject yesterday in favour of a long denunciation of "American imperialism" and "Japanese militarism."

The people in the streets and students at Peking University seem wary about discussing what, for them, is a surprising development. They have been urged from billboards and propaganda racks for years to "unite and defeat the United States aggressors and all their running dogs," so the switch leaves them cautious if not speechless.

Not so the members of the Western Diplomatic Corps, who have had a hard time for years. They were outspokenly, almost joyfully complimentary to Nixon for what they regarded as a bold mission that might lead to normalisation of relations between Washington and Peking.

Nixon, they noted, must have known that so dramatic an American diplomatic initiative, coming on top of his public statement that China's co-operation was essential to the building of any durable world order, would encourage many wavering nations to support the mounting drive to expel Nationalist China from the United Nations and give China's seat to the Peking Government.

It is hard to imagine, diplomats here observed, that the President would time Kissinger's trip to Peking before the September meeting of the UN General

Assembly and his own visit to Peking after the Assembly if he intended to lead the fight against China's entry into the world organisation in New York this autumn.

Aside from this awkward dilemma over who should represent China in the UN, and what seems to be a rising campaign here against "US-Japanese militarism," the timing of the President's move seems ideal. The general tone of official talk here is moderate and even friendly.

Foreign office officials go out of their way to say that China is a big but poor country, not a super-power and with no ambitions to be one. China wants what is here—by which they mean Taiwan—but she can wait. She does not want war and could not impose her social and political system on South East Asia even if she wanted to.

Unless one gets to the top of the Chinese Government, however, it is hard to get dependable information. Even the Foreign Office was not told about the Kissinger mission and apparently hasn't yet been filled in on his talks with Chou.

The Diplomatic Corps was given no advance information about the joint communique. When the announcement was made, the Dean of the Corps was meeting Ralph Collins, the newly arrived Canadian Ambassador, and knew nothing about it. Chou attended a large garden party at the French embassy on Bastille Day, two days after Kissinger had left, but not one word leaked out about what had been going on.

Nevertheless, the fact that the Chinese Government is not saying much about the affair is probably significant. Although officials here are well aware that Nixon's initiative could help them get into the UN, there is not a

whisper of this even in their private conversations. They are elaborately polite and smile at the secrecy and politics of the exercise, but that is all.

On the whole, they seem rather pleased with all the attention of a Nixon visit, especially since it was arranged before any official presidential visit to Moscow. But they are not raising any public hopes about it.

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The UN: did  
Albania know?

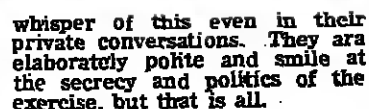
Stephen Fay writes from New York

A few hours before President Nixon's announcement, the Albanians presented a motion to the United Nations demanding China's inclusion and Taiwan's expulsion. They had done so before, but never in such tough language, and some observers here believe that the timing was deliberate—that Albania had been tipped off about the President's impending statement by Peking.

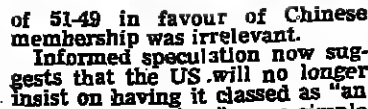
The resolution raises the possibility of a somewhat ludicrous situation arising in November, whereby China would be admitted to the UN by a large majority but would not take its seat unless Taiwan were expelled simultaneously. However, the Americans are clearly moving towards a two-China policy, which would accept the admission of China but reject the expulsion of the Nationalists.

Thus the diplomatic manoeuvring at the United Nations, after the General Assembly's next session opens in September, could be extremely complex. In the past, China has been kept out by the relatively simple procedure of making the issue "an important question," which meant that a two-thirds majority was necessary to pass it. Hence last year's vote

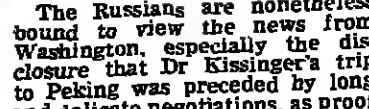
Chairman Mao



President Nixon



Chiang Kai-shek



of 51-49 in favour of Chinese membership was irrelevant. Informed speculation now suggests that the US will no longer insist on having it classed as "an important question"—so a simple majority will be enough to create the new seat. At the same time, though, the Americans will argue that the expulsion of a member in good-standing Taiwan, does come within the "important" category and will prevent it happening by ensuring that any such motion fails to get a two-thirds majority.

This tactic would have the virtue of satisfying members of the American public who may still be dubious about the President's change of policy towards China. It would also help to appease the Japanese, who have privately canvassed UN members for a Two-China solution in recent months.

But the Albanian motion, which is backed by 16 other nations, mostly from Africa and the Middle East, is quite uncompromising. It asserts firmly that the People's Republic of China is "the only legitimate representative of China to the United Nations."

Strained silence  
from the Kremlin

Edmund Elevers reports from Moscow: The only mention here so far of President Nixon's plan to visit Peking is contained in two items, laconic without comment by the entire Soviet Press. Clearly, the Soviet leaders will reserve official reaction to the dramatic turn in Sino-American events until they have thoroughly discussed all the options. This caution in dealing with major policy issues distinguishes the present Kremlin team from its more impetuous predecessor.

The Russians are nonetheless bound to view the news from Washington, especially the disclosure that Dr Kissinger's trip to Peking was preceded by long and delicate negotiations, as proof of Moscow's repeated charges that, behind their militant anti-American facade and long before the table tennis diplomacy was suddenly publicised last April, the Chinese were secretly "playing footsie" with the Americans.

No amount of persuasion is likely to turn the Russians from their belief that the US-China detente is mainly the fruit of shared hostility to the Soviet Union.

Japan's Premier  
under fire

Nicholas Carroll writes: Reports from Sunday Times correspondents in Saigon and Tokyo yesterday pointed to important developments which could stem from the announcement of President Nixon's projected visit. As an example, the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Eisaku Sato, has come under heavy attack from some of his own supporters and his term of office may be shortened.

The pro-Peking faction in Mr Sato's ruling Conservative Party has grown to about 100 members, some of whom are now reproaching him for not having visited Peking himself, earlier than the two countries' relations.

In South Vietnam, it looks as though the news will strengthen General Duong Van Minh's challenge to President Thieu in the autumn general elections. "Big Sino-American platform is one of 'peace and conciliation' with the Communists, whereas President Thieu has staked everything on accepting no compromise with them."

The man  
who made  
medical  
news

DR ALFRED BYRNE, a correspondent of The Times for eight years, died last week at the age of 62, months ago he was under a recently developed operation which he subsequently was to be photographed in paper.

Throughout his last 21 years he was a unique kind of man, wholly devoted to his profession and only too ready to write about the cancer which had attacked him.

Dr Byrne gave up his medicine, in Dun Laoghaire, in order to write and he wrote from his penetrating research to a unrivalled position of authority as a journalist among the



Dr Alfred Byrne

medical men of his time a time when new discoveries were transformed into medical world, and doctors spread of understanding of help and expert. Dr Byrne gave Special in the Colour Magazine on frontiers of medicine a amazing detail, on the baby under new technique warm praise from the authorities.

In later years Dr Byrne also qualified as a bi in his youth, repeatedly the dangers of some chemical pollution.

He had been medical pondent of the Guardia Observer before job Sunday Times, and it years he was also editor London Clinic Medical J

## Dust threatens Ice Age

By Bryan Silcock

Science Correspondent

IF MAN'S activities increase the amount of dust in the atmosphere to four times its present level there could be another ice age, according to two scientists of the United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The scientists, S. I. Rasool and S. H. Schneider, of the Institute for Space Studies in New York, reach this conclusion after computing the global effects of the two pollutants most likely to affect climate—carbon dioxide and dust, both of which come mainly from power stations burning coal or oil. Their findings are reported in the journal Science.

Carbon dioxide could make the

earth hotter because it traps heat rather like the glass in a greenhouse, but Rasool and Schneider calculate that the effect tends to level off as the gas concentration rises. "Even an increase by a factor of 8 in the amount of carbon dioxide, which is highly unlikely in the next several thousand years, will produce an increase in the surface temperature of less than 2 degrees C," they write.

But dust is very different. By reflecting the sun's rays back into space it has a cooling effect which could be far more serious.

"An increase by a factor of

four in the equilibrium concentration in the globe, say the scientists, cannot be ruled out; it could decrease the mean surface temperature by as much as 10 degrees C. If this were to occur, even a period of several years of temperature decrease would be sufficient to trigger an ice age.

How likely is a four in dust concentration? Some evidence that it has increased twice in the last 50 years, and man's potential could rise six to eight times in the next 50 years, permanently in the atmosphere, and it is, of course, nuclear stations are increasing it

## The brain drain goes on

By William Oster, Medical Correspondent

THE BRAIN DRAIN of British doctors to the United States is increasing in spite of improved pay and conditions for junior hospital doctors. Figures published last week by the American Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates show that in 1970 the number of British doctors sitting for the Council's examination—which has to be passed before a doctor can practice in American hospitals—was 926, compared with 682 in 1968 and 633 in 1969.

If the 837 British doctors who passed the examination last year

had taken up posts in the United States it would have represented a loss of about one-third of the annual output of Britain's medical schools. In fact, estimates suggest that only about half the doctors who pass the examination actually practise in the United States either temporarily or permanently.

The figures confirm that permanent medical practice in the United States has lost none of its attractions. Most doctors who get a licence for full practice stay in America, and this loss is particularly serious for Britain.

Thorpe calls  
for expansion

MR JEREMY THORPE, a leader, looked for speech at Beverley yesterday, to the C economic statement for He said: "Let the G declare for expansion, ating the economy would for the nation's economic health. It v deprive some of Labour and shifters on the g peace issue of the cam which they are trying their contemptible re is a shabby camouflage ing the economy the G could make it transp



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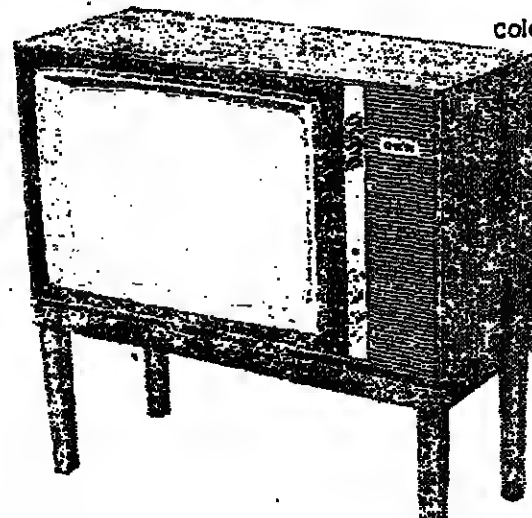
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# DECIDING NOT TO DECIDE ON EUROPE: HOW THE LABOUR PARTY

## Unions and big Jim postpone showdown

### THE GREAT DEBATE NEWS REPORT

THAT HIGH NOON battle-to-the-death confrontation between Labour's out-numbered Europeans and the Antis was postponed yesterday even before the morning sun had time to warm the Central Hall, Westminster, conference yesterday. Right from the beginning, despite the anti-Market mood among the 1,100 in the Hall, the conference unexpectedly steered away from a showdown.

The antis were the first to strike, right away inviting the conference to put itself on record formally against Europe. The idea was defeated on the first and only card vote of the morning by 3,185,000 votes against 2,624,000. Even that morning, Mr Ian Mikardo, the conference chairman, had said he expected a photo-finish. That was averted because some of the middle to big unions, though anti-Market, had been persuaded not to press for an early vote. Mr James Callaghan, it was being said, had in the last few days privately persuaded several of them not to press their case.

Whoever pulled it off, the largest of the anti-unions so converted to delaying a final decision was the National Union of Mineworkers; the NUM leaders, aware of division in their own membership, were glad of an opportunity also to allow a little time for wounds to heal. Other unions which turned the tide were the Union of Postal Workers, the National Union of Public Employees and the Transport Salaried Staffs Association. And they were joined by some potentially anti-Europe constituency associations who reacted against the idea that the big unions could run the conference.

The anti-Market were quick to move. As Mr Mikardo, explained the conference arrangements and especially that the Executive Committee wanted it to be a take-note conference without a decision, Mr Alf Morris, MP for Wythenshawe, Manchester, and a declared anti-Market, was poised ready to be first at the rostrum. He demanded that this be a day of decision.

"The Conservative Party and the Confederation of British Industry have taken their decision," he said. "Our decision is overdue. While we temporise, our opponents are actively campaigning. The country is waiting our decision and we shall lose valuable time unless a decision is taken today—now is the time for a decision."

He offered this motion: This Conference while taking note of the National Executive's statement on the Common Market,

(1) opposes entry to the Common Market on the terms of the Government White Paper;  
(2) believes that the question of entry should be submitted to the British people on the basis of a General Election."

Mr Morris argued that it was a proper constitutional course to secure a test of opinion at this conference, on the greatest single issue facing both the Labour movement and this country today.

It was Mr James Callaghan who spoke for the Executive. In spite of his own critical attitude towards the Market, he spoke persuasively in favour of avoiding decision today and brought an early rattle of applause in the stuffy hall.

### THE GREAT DEBATE SPEECHES

The gist of Mr Callaghan's argument for a non-decision yesterday was that the conference had been called when it was thought Mr Heath would demand a decision from Parliament in July. Labour had therefore been determined not to be "caught short," Mr Callaghan said.

After Mr Heath had met Mr Pompidou, he returned from France with all the zeal of a missionary stepping ashore to present the truth to some offshore cannibals.

It was the Parliamentary Labour Party which forced back a decision from the month of July to the month of October. We are now in a position to follow through the normal processes that the constitution lays down for reaching decisions in the Labour Party and in the Labour Movement.

There will be no untimely delay and we shall not lose valuable time. We are going to have a detailed cross-examination of Ministers in the House of Commons next week, which is going to produce a lot of information which has not been forthcoming as yet. The Executive is already examining such evidence as has been produced in order to reach conclusions and to publish its own conclusions in about 14 days from now. During the whole of the month of August and September, the detailed views of the Labour movement, as expressed by the Executive, will be in front of the Party.

We believe we should follow the full process that the British people expect from us for a detailed analysis of our stand, and why we make it. This will ensure that not only will the British people have the full arguments as we see them, but also the Conference will retain the full powers of decision, before a decision is required in the House of Commons. Our Conference meets on October 2; our decision in the House of Commons will not be needed until later in

October. The Conference will have the full opportunity of taking its decision with a full right to amend the Executive Statement. This is a better way for an issue as momentous as this to proceed, than by taking a hastily prepared and ill-thought-out resolution this morning, without the full powers for amendment.

When the Common Market debate ends, whenever it ends, there is still an account to be settled with the Conservative Party. Let's remember June 18th. It was elected on a fraud; they know it, and the British people know it. Sooner or later, the British people will have an account to settle with the Conservatives, whatever happens on this particular matter. Our plan is laid out in such a way as to preserve the maximum unity of the party and to ensure that we are able to go to the people as soon as possible in order to get rid of the Conservative Government and settle the account on behalf of the British people.

It was this slap at the Conservative Government and the appeal for Labour unity that stirred the conference to applause.

From this point on, after the vote, pro- and anti-EEC speeches came in rhythmic alternation. Often the debate had the flavour of traditional socialist fervour about it. Stanley Henig (Lancaster) was in favour of entry because it would advance the cause of international socialism. Roy Epps (Brighton, Kemptown) declared: "We should say that we reject the EEC but we would also say that we stand for a socialist Europe."

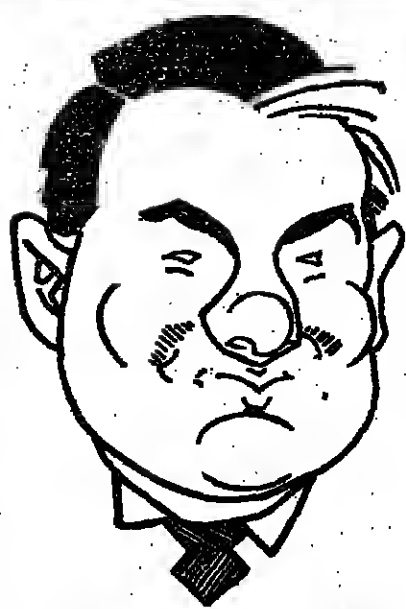
### Some angry Celts

Following Roy Grantham (CAWU), who thought that the "non-profitable" of the EEC negotiations was still to come—on aircraft, technology and the regions—Robert Bringshaw (NATSOA) came to the microphone to bring the conference back to earth, in his own way, by telling delegates that despite the visions of wider opportunities Volkswagen, Renault, Fiat and Mercedes would not close down the day Britain joined the Market.

"The fundamental motive of the Tories in joining, is the perpetuation and even to widen the present division of the European nations... the path of entry into the Common Market is the path of national doom," said Mr Bringshaw ominously.

The debate was then taken up by the Scots and the Welsh, eloquent Celtic orators from areas of high unemployment and strangled industries, who could not be expected to view the Market question with anything but the most intense personal concern; for regional development is one of the most passionately argued causes in the Labour movement.

Robert MacLennan (Caitness and



Callaghan: active behind scenes

(Scotland), one of the organisers of the "disaster" pro-Market in the Parliamentary Labour Party, said the European Community had dealt at least as successfully as Britain with such problems as migration and underdevelopment that existed in Scotland today. James Sillars (South Ayrshire) maintained that a successful regional economic policy needed positive control of capital, which was basic to the socialist movement and forbidden by the Treaty of Rome. He drew a storm of applause when he said that socialism meant the control of capital.

Mr Mikardo asked for a pro-Market speaker from Wales. "There is one, oh come on," Mr Mikardo urged, getting a laugh. "The Welsh could solve the whole problem in one go. They should insist that Welsh should be one of the languages of the EEC. The Europeans wouldn't want us in after that." Laughter still rumbled through the hall as Don Anderson (ex-MP for Monmouth) stepped to the microphone to make a lively plea for British entry. European Socialists had already tasted the Market cake without suffering from food poisoning. "We are not starting with a blackboard on which nothing is written," he said. "We are starting with existing facts. Our own Socialist colleagues on the Continent were as sceptical as us when they joined but they have seen the benefits for their own members."

He sketched in Wales' long-standing dependence on basic industry and the high level of unemployment. As for coal, he said, "We are starting with a blackboard on which nothing is written." He said, "We are starting with existing facts. Our own Socialist colleagues on the Continent were as sceptical as us when they joined but they have seen the benefits for their own members."

Mr Anderson ran into trouble when he made what he regarded as a realistic analysis of the Market as an election issue. To mounting booing, he declared: "There is no going to be a General Election on this issue. The Tories like power and will cling on as long as they can. We know that, in or out, if we stay out of the Market there is going to be a dynamic growth on the Continent from which we'll be excluded, and our own people will grumble more and more at the erosion of their own standard of living."

To growls of dissent Mr Anderson argued that there was a majority in Parliament for entry into Europe and like it or not, we were going in. He urged the Labour movement not to vacillate, especially as there could be an election halfway through the five year transitional period after Britain's entry. If Labour has shifted, he said, we'll not only face great criticism from our colleagues on the Continent but we'll forfeit a chance to lead a dynamic revitalised Europe."

### Think of the young

THE DEBATE, reasonable and even subdued in tone, took fire with an intervention by George Thomson, speaking in short-shorts and a broad Scots accent from the special gallery set aside for MPs. As Common Market negotiator for the Wilson cabinet, he reiterated that, although the terms were not perfect, he believed they would have been acceptable to a Labour Government.

When I was Common Market Minister we accepted the invitation to negotiate. None of us ever did believe that the ideal terms would be presented to us. All of you in the trade unions know that you don't expect perfect terms. You don't negotiate unless you expect a reasonable chance of compromise. The Labour cabinet would have accepted these terms. I don't doubt the sincerity of my colleagues who have a different point of view but most of us with the next responsibility for the negotiations in the Labour party will share my view.

Negotiators, whether in the Labour party or in the Tory party, have to consider the future of Britain and with a domestic market five times bigger than the present one even the small increase in prices and the amount of the entrance fee is worthwhile in the long run for the higher living standards. It is not a good enough excuse just to talk about the disastrous economic policies of the Tories. If we argue along these lines we could say that in 1939 Labour on what basis would we refuse to fight Hitler because they detested "thurchill."

In this debate we should be ready to speak for our children and their future because an issue of this kind is based on the Britons of the next generation and the sort of world they are going to live in. Mr Thomson's compromise formula was that the party should agree to disagree in order to be able to concentrate on getting the Tories out. The conference chairman could at that point have kept the temperature high by calling either Michael Foot or Peter Shore, two top anti-Market men who were waving their arms in

an effort to get into the debate and answer Mr Thomson. Instead, he called the Labour candidate by-election, forthcoming Macclesfield by-election, Diana Jevda and in no time at all delegates were hearing of anxieties about the cost of the weekend joint in Macclesfield.

In contrast with the "glittering vision" of Europe presented by the Market partisans, Clive Jenkins (general secretary of A.S.T.M.S) offered a France "strongly in the grip of a reactionary Government and twice on the brink of civil war in the past decade, a Belgium deeply divided by a century of military coup."

"I want to deal also, if you wish, with Germany. I believe that the grip that our comrades have there is very fragile indeed... there is no grand political and social design there," said Mr Jenkins.

Turning to the predominance of big international corporations inside the European Economic Community, Mr Jenkins went on to say: "Every great multi-national company wants us in, and I suggest that if they have that motivation, then it may not be so good for the ordinary citizen. I challenge our friends in the Labour Committee for Europe to publish their balance sheet. And I'll tell you what. We'll get the anti-Market to publish theirs too."

A young man from Hornsey Labour Party, Mr A. McIntosh, confessed he had a difficult, if not impossible task, because his party had split evenly, right down the middle, on the Market question at its last meeting. Mr McIntosh found fault with both the pro-Market and anti-Market groups, so that at the end, Mr Mikardo said he was inclined to put that speech down as a "don't know."

Jack Jones, General Secretary of the large and declaredly anti-Market Transport and General Workers' Union, based his opposition on the extra cost of living which his members would have to meet and the extra interference in their lives.

Ordinary people have little enough say in their own lives as it is, without our becoming part of an enterprise which means accepting over 3,000 regulations worked out without our participation and without our say, he said.

He told the conference that only four out of 900 delegates at his union conference had opposed a motion urging the TUC and the Labour

Party to launch a public campaign against the Government's EEC policy. He believed their vote reflected those of the ordinary "The whitewash of the White cannot conceal the fact that will be a major cut in living standards on entry. And let think to play Santa Claus and up the difference."

Sir Frederick Hayday, of the General Council and a leader of the General and Municipal Union, is a calm square-jawed man, a firm, slightly portly figure, more at ease in a warm room watching the proceedings on the windows. "I represent democratic organisation," he said while a fellow delegate derisively. "Since 1962, given more study to the situation, any other trade union organisation. The members have a pro and con, and we've debated our union conference on separate occasions."

"In 1967 the Party conference debated, and accepted a resolution, supported by my Union, to enter into the Common Market on suitable terms, and that, still the policy of this party, we are looking at today is re terms. This is the new map we have to examine. I examined this yesterday, a executive council and its de to this conference. After day they agreed without di that George Thomson's st about acceptability was a s kind of end to these negoti

"I do rely, as an expe trade union negotiator, on of George Thomson's calm, looked at this from every direction as negotiator for the Government. When he com I think he deserves a tribute courageous way he's been ou and honest. Frederick paused for a ping to swell and ebb, theo married his own organisation' "We feel that entry will o way for us, for this country, to our economy, to increase the rate and raise our living st say about capitalism, I see a alternative to entry. The a for going in is that it v immediately transform a economy to a dynamic one, would allow British indus restricted access to this quic market. Whatever peon say about capitalism, this a for more industry and em From the audience came th "And more profits." Sir F rounded on him: "The CBI business to make profits." "They have made a survey prospects of industry and at doubt as to what the prospect he on entry."

The spectacle of a senile Unionist appearing to speak capitalists' trade union e tickled the conference's left

Mikardo: keeping it cool

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## Why Tom Jackson had to keep swallowing hard

IT WAS boiling hot in the Central Hall and you couldn't find the normal fuel of a Labour Party conference—alcohol—anywhere in the place because it is a Methodist house of worship. But it wasn't that which took the excitement out of the great debate after the first half-hour. What did was the vote. Labour conference thrives on personal challenge and the tension of a doubtful vote. But once we knew that there would be no vote at the end of the day, no decision on whether Labour would come out finally one way or another on the Market, the thrill rapidly drained out of the proceedings. Waiting for Harold Wilson, we settled down to a series of predictable speeches and that, by and large, was what we got.

Some of the speeches were indeed so predictable that I had heard them already in Jack Jones's case at recently last Wednesday in Scarborough, where he held out for the first time the ominous lesson of his members who tend the British war graves in Europe and have to be paid £20 or £10 a week above their English wages that they can keep up with the Continental Joneses.

Nobody came off any fences or struck up an unexpected position. George Thomson repeated for the sake of those who hadn't heard it before that he would have recommended the terms the Tory Government got from Europe to a Labour Government, and Peter Shore made a telling attack on all the sins of the Six which nearly but not quite earned him a standing ovation.

The rank and file speeches were good but not memorable,

### THE GREAT DEBATE HIGHLIGHTS

except for one by Tony Judge. Improbably the editor of Police News, who in a sparkling anti-Market effort told the conference that he had not gone six years as a schoolboy without bananas for nothing.

Ian Mikardo's impeccable chair-

manship did not help either. He balanced every pro with an anti, every trade unionist with someone from the constituencies. A little judicious unfairness on his part might have put some fizz in a stale brew.

So we were left to wondering why it was that the anti-Market troops, who undoubtedly command a majority in the conference through the trade unions, had failed to push the party to the line they wanted it to go. The answer, of course, lay with the contrariness of the unions.

The miners, the public employees and the postal workers, lined up with the platform and behind the statesmanlike and fatherly Jim Callaghan against taking the issue to the brink even though they all have firm anti-Market decisions from their unions. They would have been enough to tip the scales.

For the miners it seems to have been traditional loyalty to the party platform; for the public employees it was something the same, though they were also in genuine confusion; while for the

postal workers it was the result of a vote among their delegation taken there and then in the hall.

Poor Tom Jackson, the well-matched postmen's leader found himself in a most supremely twisted position of anyone in the conference. A pro-Marketeer himself, he had failed to persuade his union executive his way, then found he had to vote against the anti-Market conference, and then made an anti-Market speech from the rostrum. Such are the routine trials of a trade union leader's life.

All these unions and several more will vote against the Common Market at Labour's October conference and the party will finally committed against entry then. But the issue lives for a month or two yet and currently the anti-Market are showing the most verve.

Outside the hall a main giving away anti-material that she was wasting her time. "Oh no, I'm not," she said. "I'm being paid to do it." The anti man went off more than ever convinced of the righteousness of his ways.

### British beer in danger—MP

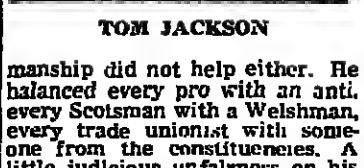
A touch of hilarity enlivened the proceedings when Mr Phil Gregory, of Poplar and Stepney, went to the rostrum in his braces and declared: "British beer as we know it is in danger. As I understand it the common agricultural policy does not allow a brewer to use fertilised hops as we do now."

Mr Stanley Orme, MP for Salford West, criticised Mr George Thomson's acceptance of the EEC terms and commented: "I would not like George Thomson as a steward for me. I believe that the vast majority of the British people are opposed to entry. So is the vast majority of this conference and the majority of the Parliamentary Labour Party."

Not even a former foreign secretary was immune from Mr Mikardo's blab-off machinery, even when you happen to be Mr Michael Stewart and have just started to give your considered opinion of Mr Heath. But that is what happened.

"Michael, the light's on," Mr Mikardo warned Mr Stewart, meaning the red time's up. "You're on the rostrum. Mr Stewart appeared not to hear from his microphone on the balcony high above the main conference floor. Mr Heath's not the man..." Mr Stewart continued.

Suddenly there came the stentorian voice of Mr Mikardo. "But I'm the man who can tell you that you've got to stop speaking now," he said, and without the cut off Mr Stewart's microphone.



TOM JACKSON



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EST 11



# hore warns of a 'great national disaster'

*Continued from preceding page*

Mr. Frederick was not to be  
"We earn our livelihood

Mr. Frederick was not to be moved. "We earn our livelihood from the fish industry," he said, "and if we are in the hands of the C.B.I. it's the end of the voters of this country."

Mr. Ellis, former MP for Bristol, said the workers of Bristol could do nothing in the Market for them: it was a substantial price to pay, and he would he paid on the backs of the workers of this country. Another MP said he was consistently better paid than the paper, and he was more so than Peter Shore, the official opponent of entry among the MPs, leaning haggard-faced to the microphone as his voice rose with intensity of feeling. "I don't think there is much doubt in my mind as to whether the White Paper which this Government recently published that the terms were agreed and brought back from Paris and Brussels are bad, appallingly bad, for the people of this country. For what we have agreed to concede is the loss of 120,000 jobs, and the loss of 120,000 jobs is a disaster for this country, a switch from traditional suppliers, to highly inefficient farms of Western Europe to withdraw from the two main areas of which she is a member, EFTA and the Commonwealth, to go into a third area, the Common Market, which only 20% of trade, and not even for the first time since 1939, a removal of capital and firms from Britain into Western Europe. There is an additional, major development since Labour's unilateral bid to enter. The special relationship between the Community and the Six negotiated at the negotiation of France early in 1964 to be accepted by Britain in condition of negotiations. The Government has been put upon this by this. In 1967, we did not vote against that background: it even existed. France kept us out, and she could make no arrangement those special farming

are the suppressed chapters of the White Paper that could spell true cost to Britain, pay over the balance of payments. It would cost this nation aivalent in all the exports we use during the first and second world wars as expressed in balances. It is a gross deceit to tell British people to try and tell them to increase our prosperity in the years following

entry. We are in for a great national disaster if we enter on these terms. You and the British people have the power to stop this act of madness, change the history of this country, and make arrangements which are right for the people of Britain.

Then there was Tom Jackson, swashbuckling General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers, to declare that the price demanded was too high and the Government demanding it too untrustworthy. "How can we trust a Government headed by a vindictive schoolmistress administering the cane of unemployment to the working people of this country? We have no facts, no figures. It is government by guesswork, where the crystal ball is substituted for policy."

"The Government has lost the confidence of the people and hopes to recapture it by a false prospectus for Europe. It will fail in this as in all else."

Michael Berkeley, from Halesowen and Stourbridge, declared an interest as an export manager for a manufacturing firm in the Midlands. He saw no alternative to entry if the British industry was to get back on its feet. Labour might not like the world's trading arrangements, they might not be Socialist arrangements "but we have to work within them."

Dan McGarvey, of the Boilermakers' Union, got roars of approval from the back of the hall for his words about a German finger on the nuclear trigger. But McGarvey's Market cause was then reinforced by the stolid figure of Arthur Bottomley, a former Commonwealth Secretary. Germany was led at present by very fine liberal politicians whom they could trust. It was true, though, that Britain would always have a role in maintaining European peace. That was why other Common Market countries wanted Britain in. Stay out of Europe, and who knows, it could lead to war. Mr Bottomley's arguments were that even if it would aid British technological advance and help Commonwealth countries attract investment.

The conference's morning session ended on a colourful note when Anthony Judge, from Surbiton Labour Party, and editor of the Police Federation journal, Police News, came to the rostrum in a vivid yellow shirt and tie. He received a loud ovation when he declared that the Common Market agricultural policy of high prices combined with protection was, in a hungry world, "an obscenity." This was not why he had gone six years without a

banana as a schoolboy during the Second World War.

WHEN THE afternoon session began Nicholas Bosanquet, of Hampstead Labour Party, described himself as "a reluctant Marketeer." He thought that the Market was "for the party" was how it could move towards a more equal society, and on balance he was persuaded Labour could do this better within the Market framework: "One advantage of the Market stands out. Because of its existence, the European have had a much higher employment rate than we have here. I believe that we will be sucked along by their very level of demand." He anticipated that shortly after we entered the Market Britain would have a Labour Government again. That was a assurance that the European concept would be influenced by Labour's egalitarian philosophy.

Roger Evans, for the Society of Labour Lawyers, was given a rough reception when he told delegates there had been too many assertions about the Treaty of Rome that "showed a complete lack of knowledge of the text of that document. In his view, the Market provisions embodied in the Rome Treaty provided a perfectly adequate framework for the emergence of a Socialist Europe. For example, there was not one word in the Treaty that prevented a member country nationalising any of its major industries or restricting foreign entry. Into Europe precluded further extensions of public ownership was said "A tragic and massive misapprehension."

This brought derisive yells from the floor, but Mr Roy Jenkins on the platform could be observed applauding enthusiastically. Mr Evans believed that emotional utterances about the free flow of capital inside Market were misleading. The Treaty had a specific provision that each member country could stop the outflow of capital unilaterally, if it so desired. Similarly, Mr Evans maintained, there was misunderstanding about regional policies. The Treaty safeguarded any Government's right to pursue regional policies.

After the reception given to Mr Evans, the chairman asked delegates to display better order during speeches. He acknowledged though that conference might have been mildly provoked "by the suggestion that only lawyers have read the Treaty of Rome."

In spite of what Mr Evans had said, the next speaker, John Reynolds of Cardiff, claimed there were restrictions in the Rome Treaty on regional policies, and he believes Wales, Merseyside and Scotland would suffer. Eric Heffer, a Labour frontbencher, explained why he had changed from being a vocal pro- to a vocal anti-



**Market man:** "In the past, I said I thought we could get a Socialist Europe by joining the EEC. I do not believe that now, nor have I done since the decision of the EEC Council of Ministers in 1969, which has closed the doors to bringing about the Socialist community. We have a responsibility to the British working class, who will suffer if we join. Our alternative is to get down to building a Socialist Britain. We must have the confidence in our ability to do this

By now, the emotional temper of the debate was beginning to rise. Few previous speeches had evoked as much applause as the one now for British entry, and delivered by John Mackintosh, MP for Berwick and East Lothian. He attacked frontally Mr Peter Shore's speech of the morning.

“I want to begin by saying Peter Shore's case rests on the argument that something very new has happened. But let us be clear about it: every one of the major aspects of the Common Market which Shore referred to in his speech was there in 1967 when the Labour Cabinet made its application to join.

Let us be absolutely honest about it: not only was it there in 1967, but the one change which he referred to—the organisation of the payment of the Community Budget—was fixed in December, 1969, and the Labour Cabinet reapplied to join in May of 1970. Now this was not a frivolous application, this was not a piece of childish play, this was serious; and when our leaders said "We mean

business, we won't take no for an answer," it was because we seriously wanted to join on the Common Market principles as elaborated by the beginning of May last year.

I cannot believe there have been such fundamental changes between

May of last year and now as to merit the kind of dreadful picture that Shore and Eric Heffer are now painting. And what worries me about the introduction of such terms as deceit and hypocrisy into this argument is the suggestion that those of us who believe we could get more growth in Europe are somehow hypocritical. If that is true, then it must include a majority of the last Labour Cabinet who supported this application.

What bothers me is to look back on the experience of the last Labour Government over six years when Peter Shore himself was Minister of Economic Affairs—I wonder if he has been living in the same world as I have. Does he remember having to explain how we were blown off course? Does he remember a forced devaluation? Does he remember the cuts and the deflation which we had to explain all round the world? You see, I am not a particularly negative and insular about this position, is to say that we must go back to that sort of situation when the next Labour Government is formed.

It's no good merely to shout slogans about socialism. Didn't the last Labour Cabinet include Socialists? It was the limitations of Britain standing on its own and trying to maintain an impossible world power position which destroyed our attempts in the last Labour Government.

No one could deny that the old stages of the Labour party can stir the emotions of their audience after the anti Market speech by Michael Foot. In the lunch break Mr Foot could be seen strolling amiably around Parliament Square, to all intents and

purposes, a gentle tourist admiring the flower beds. From the balcony of Central Hall an hour or so later, he orated the delegates emotionally with a speech that frequently turned his face tomato red over a light blue shirt and almost overpowered the public address system with its ferocity of tone.

"One of the most serious aspects in my judgment," he said, "is that the people talk sometimes as if this great nation is signed, sealed and delivered and that the great conflict can do nothing about it. I don't accept that particularly in view of the fact that we are asked to accept \$500 million more for a start, slightly more or slightly less, on the balance of payments." That, he declared to a roar of applause, was the short answer to the previous speaker, John Mackintosh.

We had to accept an agricultural policy which no Marketeer could even defend; on steel, there was not the slightest guarantee that the Establishment would be able to carry off its £4,000 million development programme if we went in. But Mr Foot saved his most scornful remark for the Value Added Tax with an evocation of the 17th century hero of the fight for civil rights; "John Hampden had a better chance to resist ship money than the British people have to resist the VAT."

Next to the rostrum was Mr. Bob Edwards, leader of the Chemical Workers' Union, and a nice irony his presence proved to be. Not long ago, Mr. Edwards' union joined the ranks of Jack Jones' Transport workers, and Mr. Jones, the anti-Marketeer, must have been grinding his teeth as the plump, twinkling and persuasive Mr. Edwards urged delegates to forget their insular cares and join the happy band of Europeans. The European movement as he saw it had roots in

the European socialism he had observed at first hand. "That's the way it started," he said in his most warning manner. "Forget about the Church. Forget about the big business undertakings. Think about how we can develop the principles of democratic socialism in some part of the world in our lifetime. We can develop socialist ideas and socialist institutions, and that's why I'm an unrepentant European socialist." "I don't know," the engineering union appeared to be in a sour mood. "I was reluctant to speak," he said, "in view of the decision taken earlier. I don't see any purpose in an exercise in futility. I believe that either a conference is called to make a decision or no conference should have been called at all." His Union's decision had been made in a democratic manner and that decision was "to oppose and to oppose. Full Stop." He b o p e d that the Executive would get down to formulating a resolution that would be anti-Common Market. Above everything else, he hoped that all decisions of the Early Conference would be binding on everybody.

Michael Stewart, a former Foreign Secretary, had just started to give his opinion of Mr Edward Heath. But, "Michael, the light's on," Mr Mikardo warned Mr Stewart, meaning the red time-s-up warning light on the rostrum. Mr Stewart appeared not to hear. "Mr Stewart, not the man," he said, and suddenly the speaker's stentorian voice of Mr Mikardo, "But I'm the man who can tell you that you've got to stop speaking now." Without further ado he cut off Mr Stewart's microphone.

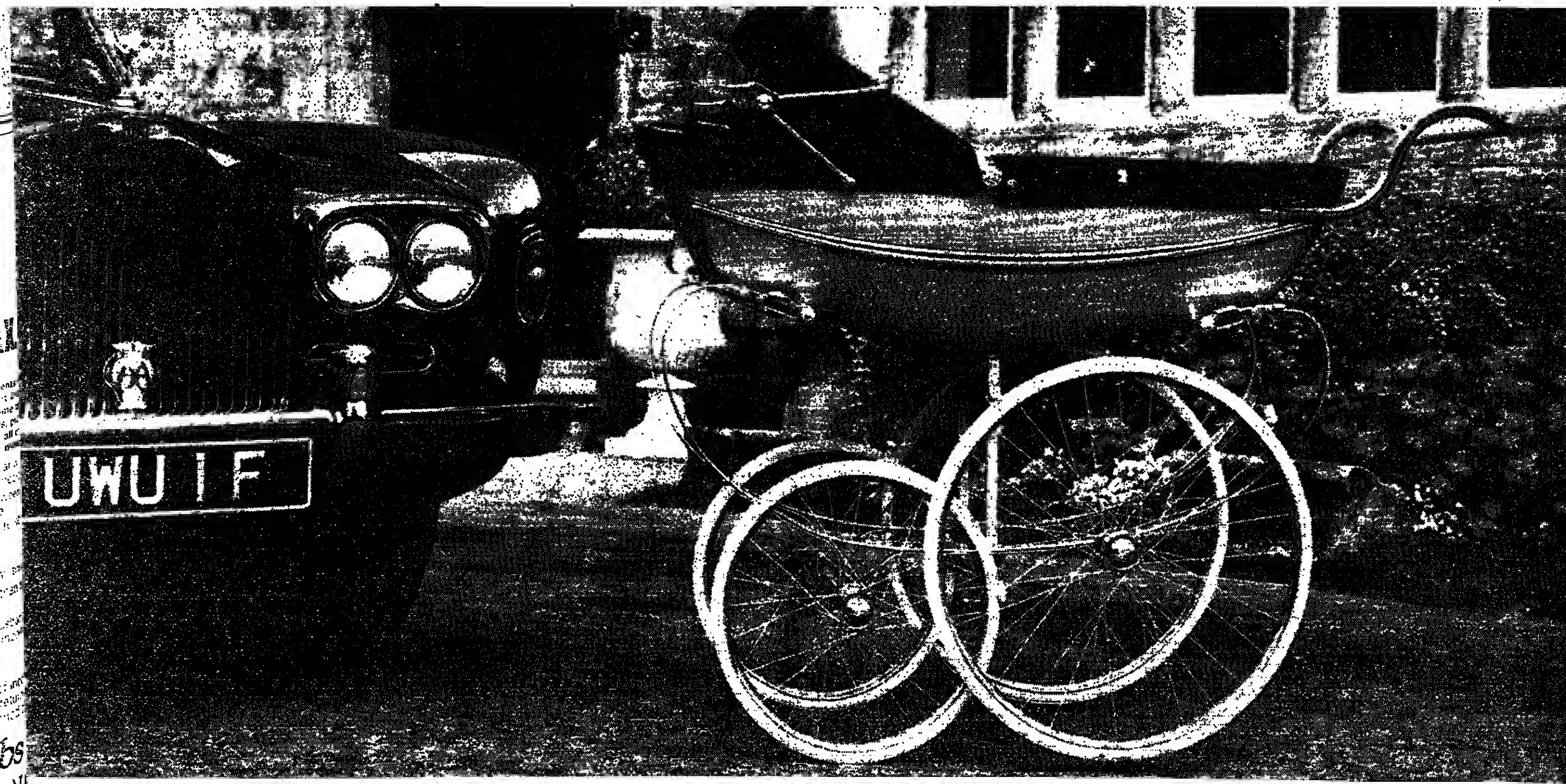
Mr Stewart started by saying that not even the most fervent supporters of the Market would believe that it would solve all our problems. "But the evidence," he added, "is overwhelming that whatever Government you have in Britain the opportunity of the British people to do what they choose will be a wider opportunity if we go in now than if we go out. That's the real issue."

Mr Stewart was followed by one of the Party's most persistent anti-Marketisers, former President of the Board of Trade and the M.P. for North Battersea, Douglas Jay, who contemptuously disposed of Stewart's point about the growth of the Six since the Treaty of Rome was signed, by remarking that the growth rate in the Six countries was actually faster before the Treaty. He emphasised that the Party was in no sense wholly committed to acceptance of the principle of entry. Ever since Hugh Gaitskell's famous "five conditions" speech in 1962, the Party Conference has made its provisions clear: no entry without basic safeguards for Britain's special position.

He understood that George Brown, perhaps the Party's fiercest Pro-Marketeer, accepted this position when he was Foreign Secretary. Mr Jay said.

**Report from Central Hall by:**  
**Godfrey Hodgson, Peter**  
**Dunn, Derek Humphrey,**  
**Lewis Chester and John**  
**Whale**

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# Ulster: black farce and criminal lunacy

TWO MEN dead in a London-derry riot, two British soldiers killed and virtually the whole of the Stormont opposition in a state of suspended resignation. The scene darkens in Ulster. What are the options now?

THERE IS one logical flaw in the impeccable policy so far followed by the British authorities towards Northern Ireland. The British are treating the Irish problem as if it were amenable to reason. Yet, if it were, there would be better ways of dealing with it.

Reconciliation with repression remains the official line—to bring the two Northern communities together, while at the same time combating, and in the end conquering, terrorism.

During the time that this aim has been actively pursued, ten British soldiers have been killed and thousands more have gone in fear of death: the terrorists have become steadily more efficient, to the point where their rifle-fire is finding its mark and they are able to recapture their own men from under police guard; and the two communities have drawn so far apart that Stormont MPs on the Catholic side are mortally embarrassed by an offer of normal parliamentary partnership from the Protestant majority and have to trump up an excuse (the outcry over the Derry men killed by the Army) to reject it.

Yet what other line can the authorities advocate? Reunification, suggests Mr Lynch, Prime Minister in the South. Last Sunday he invited the British Government to "declare its interest in encouraging the unity of Ireland by agreement."

Odd, then, that his officials have not breathed a word of the idea during their undisclosed, but regular, meetings with officials in London; and difficult not to conclude that the speech was no more than a sop to his woollier followers. Why, after all, should the comparatively placid South, on the point of waxing fat on the Common Market, voluntarily ingest the dyspeptic squabbles of the North?

For British ministers there is a further, crucial objection: if they showed the least flicker of interest in reunion, Mr

## NEWS ANALYSIS by John Whale

Faulkner, Prime Minister in the North with British backing, would be thrown down by his militant Protestant followers.

And no had thing, believe many people in both Northern communities. The British Government still sees no acceptable replacement for Mr Faulkner (though some senior officials are worried by the efforts of the militant Protestant leader, Ian Paisley, to ingratiate himself with Conservative hackbenchers). So Mr Faulkner's fall could only mean direct rule from Westminster.

If the choice were governed by reason, that would be the only other possible course (beside reunification) for an unattached piece of the British Isles where regional devolution has been a demonstrable disaster. Indeed, direct rule would be particularly apt now that the withdrawal of Catholic MPs seems likely to make Stormont, if it ever meets again after its present recess, even less useful as a community forum than before.

Yet direct rule has snags too. It might entail a long war on two fronts. And a British Cabinet cannot be bounced into risking the lives of many more British soldiers by the petulance of a handful of regional MPs.

These calculations are difficult to fault. They lead once again to the conclusion that the present policy is the only admissible one. But it is founded on the belief that Irishmen's quarrels will disappear when the reasons for them disappear. On the evidence, is Irish public life so reasonable?

Consider the excuses traditionally offered for Ireland's permanently troubled state. British colonists? Ireland seethed with intertribal slaughter long before the Vikings arrived. Economic stress? Some of Belfast's worst sectarian riots of the nineteenth century fell at times of marked prosperity, as a forthcoming work by two academics shows.\*

Northern Ireland now is a scene not so much of reason as of black farce. Protestants can't see any means of making the streets safe except the obvious one—the cessation of their idiotic marches. Catholics express astonishment and outrage when a crowd which is trying to kill soldiers, are themselves killed. The air is thick with infantile threats. The atmosphere is of a free-for-all in a criminal lunatic asylum.

When an individual is de-ranked, measures are taken to see that he does himself no harm. For a whole people, the process is more difficult. The best course would be for the two warring parties to be put out of each other's reach. That was one intention of the original partition, 50 years ago; but the Protestants were allowed to handle the affair graspingly, and they appropriated several areas where Catholics were as thick on the ground as themselves.

Physical separation of the two communities would therefore be hard to arrange on present boundaries: Catholics in the North would find themselves inhabiting enclaves within an enclave—green dots on an orange blob on a green ground. The division could be far more neatly made in the framework of a united Ireland, where Protestants would occupy a smaller enclave without a border, but with strong constitutional safeguards.

Catholics (and their churches) inside that enclave would be compulsorily resettled and compensated; and so would Protestants outside it. The gesture of goodwill towards reunification which Mr Lynch wants would be an early stage in this process.

Dreams, idle dreams. The British authorities draw back from the acknowledgement of unreason rampant so near home. With Northern Ireland's Parliament near death, and the province's two principal cities armed camps, they continue to hope that wiser counsel will prevail. And so they might, of course. Pigs might fly.

\* Belfast: Approach to Crisis, by Ian Budge and Cornelius O'Leary (Macmillan).

## SUNDAY TIMES DEGREE SERVICE

THIS SUMMER more students than ever will try to win places at Britain's universities and colleges. Many of them will fail and many will be turned away despite holding the necessary entrance qualifications.

But thousands of these disappointments can be avoided through the vast expansion of degree and other advanced courses in non-university colleges such as the new polytechnics which are less publicised than their more glamorous university counterparts. There is no official clearing house system for the polytechnics and some careers masters tend to be hazy about the possibilities in this new sector of higher education.

The Sunday Times, in conjunction with the Advisory Centre for Education, pioneered its own service for the non-university colleges. Tens of thousands of "rejects" were helped to find places on degree courses and the scheme was so successful that it has now been adopted by the Government's Department of Education and Science (DES).

During August and September The Sunday Times will be co-operating with the DES to publicise this service, which will tell students directly where and when there are vacancies. We shall publish details of the colleges with vacancies on degree courses in the major arts, social science, engineering and science subjects, and list the names and telephone numbers of the local advisory officers throughout the country who will be able to give students individual guidance.

Regular articles will take a look at the newly reorganised polytechnics and the new types of courses now being developed outside the university sector. But there will be reminders, too, of the established clearing systems for universities and teacher training colleges. And, although the DES service does not extend to Scotland, we shall attempt to provide information that will help any Scots caught up in the 18-plus bottleneck. The Sunday Times Degree Service begins next month.

# Stone Age people of 1971

By Tazie Vittachi

ASIAN NEWS SERVICE, Manila

CENTURIES of isolation for a group of Stone Age people living in the deepest forests of the southern Philippines ended this weekend when Manda Elizalde, the Filipino leader of the expedition which discovered them, introduced them to a group of journalists and anthropologists.

The Stone Age people are the Tasaday, who—although they inhabit a part of the rain forest fewer than 20 kilometres from the haunts of other forest dwellers—have been isolated certainly for centuries, and possibly for tens of centuries.

As in New Guinea, where a single mountain ridge separates and totally isolates groups of people living on either side, here in Cotabato the jungle makes its own boundaries which are marked by the limits of penetrability. And so the Tasaday's Stone Age way of life remained unchanged, and their existence was unknown to any other groups until recently.

They share a common ancestral language—Manobo—with two neighbouring groups of forest dwellers, the Ubo and the Tiruray. But the jungle wall was so effective that today only five out of 50 Tasaday words are familiar to the Manobo-speaking people.

The man who ended the separation of centuries was an Ubo called Dafal, who glories in the nickname of "The Bird" because of his hooked nose and a peculiar bird-like walk. From the Ubo's home on a mountain



Rain-forest dweller: one of the first pictures of the Tasaday

top above the Valley of Allah. The Bird roved the jungle in search of medicine herbs and a highly-prized resinous gum called almeiga.

He returned from his wanderings with tales of a strange people he had met—people who used only stone implements and ate the pith of plants, yams, and the flesh of trapped animals.

One of the people he told was Elizalde, a 34-year-old Harvard graduate who devotes his time, money and energy to promoting the welfare of minority groups in the Philippines and defending the forest dwellers' age-old hunting grounds. His work has been given official recognition by President Marcos, who has accorded Elizalde ministerial rank.

At first The Bird's tales were not believed. But stories of how he had given his metal bolo (sword) to the Tasaday, and how his gift of bronze earrings had been accepted avidly by Tasaday women who had never seen metal ornaments, began to sound more and more like the real thing.

Eventually Manda Elizalde and a team from his Private Association for the National Minorities (Panamio) asked The Bird to lead them to the Stone Age people. The team included Dr Robert Fox, an authority on Philippine social anthropology and director of the Philippine National Museum. The Bird hacked down the jungle growth to make a heliport, and as soon as the rains permitted Elizalde and his team landed and made their way to the Tasaday village. What they found left them breathless with excitement.

Both Elizalde and Dr Fox were uncommunicative about their discovery at first, just in case the Tasaday were not the unique

phenomenon they seemed. But it was clear that the Tasaday had used only stone implements in their households and had never known metal ornaments until they met The Bird.

They wear ground orchid leaves on their loins, not for modesty but because they believe that the evil spirits will otherwise make them sterile.

When Elizalde gave them a handful of rice, they ate it raw. It was evident that they had never seen cereals and did not even know of the camote—the sweet potato introduced into the Philippines by the Spaniards in the seventeenth century and now a staple food even in remote hill areas.

The Tasaday regarded the arrival of the helicopter with considerable panache. As far as they were concerned it was a bird, and there is nothing to fear from birds.

Now Elizalde is making another visit to the Tasaday, and his expedition includes 40 journalists and anthropologists. There is even a possibility that other groups of Tasaday may be discovered deeper in the jungle—for wisps of smoke could be seen from Elizalde's helicopter.

## Appeal in consumer c

FOR THE first time in its 14-year history, the Consumers' Association, publishers of Which?, have decided to meet the legal costs of a private individual in a test case which it believes to be of great importance to all consumers.

This follows the decision by Croydon magistrates, reported exclusively in The Sunday Times last month, to make a car dealer,

## Washington worried by Benga war risk

THERE IS serious concern in the Nixon administration that the tense situation along the East Pakistan border could erupt into armed conflict between India and Pakistan.

The fear is that the t for India to exploit the situation across the border could be irresistible. It is not only the situation is under control but also how much aid on among the refugees, apparently, evidence that refugees are being to guerrilla fighters to Pakistan.

Nobody in Washington minimises the guilt of the Government and the committed by its so East Pakistan, but high officials have been to the Indian Govern India is a global po Pakistan is merely a one and that India the more far-reaching respo

At the same time t of the Pakistan Gov restore control ov Pakistan are seen here istic and bound to f long run. The diffic is how to separate t problem from the ova Pakistan and how to refugees to return to soil.

But so far the im that neither the India Pakistani Governmen taken the kind of ac to lower the dangers inherent in w sidered here to be incendiary situation.

## Sunspot to flu wa

RUSSIAN SCIENTISTS covered a link between and flu viruses, wri Sillcock. According to Novosti Press Agency and fall of flu epidem out the world follows pattern as the 11-year cycle.

Strong activity on th to magnetic storms o Russian scientists thin he why epidemics an spot cycle are related. to Novosti, experime that a common b harmless bacterium E. among other places in gut, multiplied seve faster than norma magnetic field.

Soviet scientists a striking difference in of bacteria exposed u fields to resist antibi lococci (responsible fo other infections) be 400 times as resist cillin and four times t to tetracyclines. The istics of viruses are a be affected by magnet

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that way you'll get to see the impressive northern coast of cliffs and headlands and heathery uplands. When you're not enjoying the cooking (remember France is just 14 miles away) in Jersey's top class hotels and attractive restaurants, you can take part in any watersport you choose, and at night try the cinemas, cabarets or a friendly pub. Or shop at purchase tax free prices. You'll be brown, well fed and thoroughly refreshed. That's what a summer holiday in Jersey's autumn will do for you. And the best way to get to it is by the best service going—Caledonian B.U.A.

Ask your travel agent or send for a complete list of hotels and guest houses from: Department (204), Jersey Tourism, Weighbridge, Jersey, C.I.

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حکومت اسلامی











BEFORE Decimals-Day, in the early 1970s, the use of decimal stamps (still in use) could be used in various ways to make significant savings on postage. The scheme has, apparently, been used with enthusiasm, particularly by large firms for the savings have been enormous.

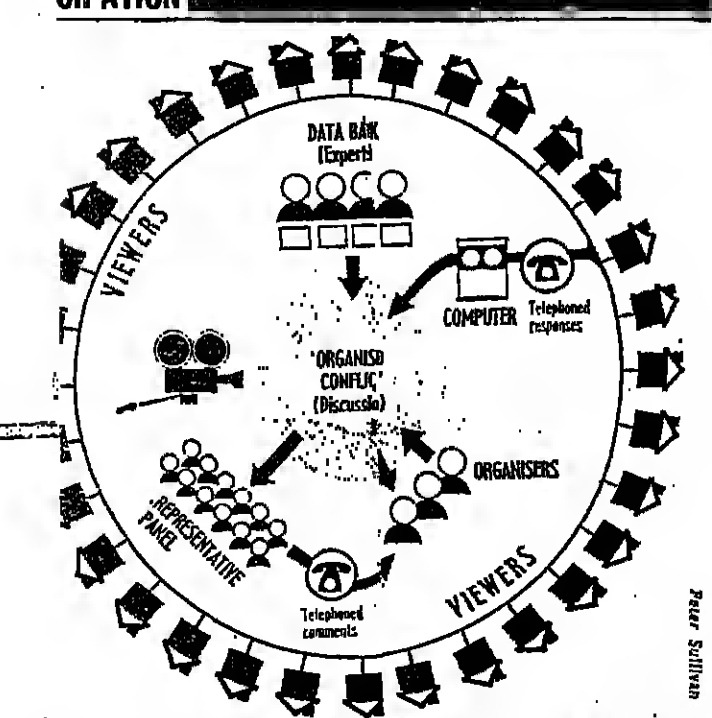
Post Office has now given out an official leaflet. They announced last week that the use of decimal stamps will continue until February 1972. However, rumours that postage rates will rise from 3p to 4p by the year prove accurate. A further way in which the saver can operate is the last drop from the number of 12 stamps available.

Stamp-dealers, with consignments of mint-prec stamps will shortly be offering them at 10 per cent under. They expect to make a profit of 25 per cent. The attraction to the public is that if you send a class 4p letter, it will cost the old pence in pre-decimal stamps. This amounts to three and three-eighths pence (at 10 per cent under) and you will find yourself sending first-class mail at a 10 per cent discount. You will be paying well under the new 2nd Class rate of 3½p, while, of course, you can carry on making savings on pre-decimal stamps. As indicated in February 2d, 1d and ½d stamps are still valid, the latter saving a 25% if used on letter destinations.

Post Office may have had in mind when they made the announcement last week that the final date for legitimate pre-decimal stamps would be the end of the year—originally indicated August 1972.

Magnus Linklater

CIPATION



An audience of thousands influenced the decisions of a panel on television. By phoning in their views they swayed the course of the entire debate.

You too can govern the nation's future

THE PUBLIC ever join in a national debate—like the one that took place last night on the future of the market—and actually have a voice to influence it? It is impossible. A unique experiment staged on German television earlier this year now opens up a massive national participation directly in decision-making.

The viewers it was the aim of a sister trend of government by television. It was merely a gimmick, however, the view is the post it was certainly a commendable departure in the pre-arranged political television.

People behind the experiment were a group of scientists, led by Helmut Krauß, from the Group for Systems Research at the University of Heidelberg. Last night they were trying to draw up priorities for dealing with pollution. They came to a decision that expert knowledge was not enough. The views of the public had to be taken into account too. But they were made known? Eventually came up with a list of priorities.

The first light the process opened, starting at 8.15 and not finishing until 11.15. It was a 2000 criticising the government and then went on to a film to show the results of the experiment. The results were that the viewers were able to exercise some control over the direction of the discussion, keeping it on topics which seemed to them relevant and important.

As far as the viewers were concerned the experiment seems to have been a success. Some 3,000 phone calls were received in all and there would have been more if the lines had not been jammed for a lot of the time.

The organisers were pleased by the results too, for they are planning another ORAKEL experiment for December. It will be concerned with the educational and political implications of television and will be on a much bigger scale. The participation of another station in southern Germany will extend the coverage to over 70 per cent of the population.

Bryan Silcock

THE LAW

THE AMERICAN Bar Association hit London last week. Fourteen thousand lawyers, wives and children, descended on 17 hotels for their annual jamboree. When the day's conferences ended they went to garden parties at Buckingham Palace and dinners at the Inns of Court. There was a special trip to Chertwell, where a group of lawyers took it in turns to sit in Churchill's own chair. In between they talked about race laws and anti-trust laws, labour laws and divorce laws, tax laws and traffic laws. But have the high-powered participants approached any ground of approaching any genuine reforms? In a way it is this week's big legal event, when lawyers go in Belgrade to stage a bizarre mock trial which best sums up the ABA conference's own blend of razzmatazz and deadly earnestness.



Trying out the seat of power: American lawyers pay their respects at Winston Churchill's old home, Chartwell

Now, if a US satellite fell on the Bolshoi...

A US satellite has crashed onto the Bolshoi theatre in Moscow killing an Ethiopian diplomat, injuring a Venezuelan businessman and causing damage to the theatre amounting to 500,000 US dollars.

The USSR and the Ethiopian and Venezuelan citizens are suing the United States and the Japanese and Italian companies which made parts of the satellite.

For the US—and making his first appearance as the new president of the ABA—will be Leon Jaworski, of Houston, Texas. Leaders of the Bar from Argentina, (Dr Julio Custio Rua), Ethiopia (The Honourable Tafari Berhane), Italy and Japan will represent the other parties.

On the bench will be US Chief Justice Burger, accompanied by the chief justices of India, Liberia, Norway, Yugoslavia, Alexei Gorkin, chief justice of the USSR, may be there too.

The trial is being held during the fifth conference of the movement for World Peace Through Law which originated during the

ABA's last visit to London in 1957. Winston Churchill is reported to have whispered in the ear of the then president, Charles S. Rhyne: "Why don't you stop all this chatter amongst yourselves and get down to the real business of making out a law for mankind." No American could be expected to forego his annual jamhoree but Rhyne took up Churchill's idea. The result was the first world conference in Athens in 1963.

The purpose of the trial, says Bernie Segal, immediate past president of the ABA, is to demonstrate how an international tribunal can be used to resolve disputes in the "private or the

public sector or a combination of both." Segal sees this kind of international tribunal as a useful guide to world peace.

At present there is no effective international judicial machinery for resolving disputes between private parties of different nations. The jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice is limited by the practical requirement of consent on the part of the different national parties.

The trial will certainly be a unique occasion. It could also conceivably confound the sceptics and jolt the weighty machinery of international justice an inch or two forwards.

The ABA had to rely for its excitement on Mrs Martha

Mitchell, wife of the US Attorney General John Mitchell, who at a tea conference at the Hilton told journalists: "It's all one world: communists and non-communists. We have to live together as brothers and sisters." More than that she claimed: "We in the US have an element much worse than Russian communism or any other sort of communism because they are trying to overthrow the government of the US by force."

"They" she identified as the "American underground" which, as Mrs Mitchell pointed out, was full of children and, of course, "the entire younger generation of the United States are spoiled brats."

It would be unfair, however, to suggest that no real work was done. In small sessions during the week lawyers have been meeting to thrash out issues like "contract performance", "public contracting" and "revenue collection and audit." It is likely that more progress was made here than in the more imposing sessions on Industrial Relations or International Communications.

This is the way the establishment prefers to work things out, behind the tinsel and the trumpeting. But it does not really alter the fact that Winston Churchill's strictures are still an apt comment on the whole event.

Peter Pringle

EDUCATION

How a child sees danger

"TODAY my daughter came home from school with a Green Cross Code put out by a road safety group. This, I think, is an absolute killer."

The Green Cross Code is the brand new road crossing system launched by the Ministry of Transport for children, and introduced less than three months ago. If successful, the new code is intended to supersede the official "Look right, look left, look right again" formula devised in 1942 and introduced in its present form four years later. But the new code is already coming under attack, both from parents (like the one who wrote the letter above to a London newspaper this week) and organisations concerned with road safety.

to cross" on a five-point scale. Secondly the wording for the code was determined by asking 300 children between the age of 5 and 7 if they understood various traffic terms. Finally, a draft code was tested on 170 six to eight year olds under "real road conditions."

The aim of all this was laudable but it is not much good drawing conclusions from a re-

The Green Cross code helps you cross the road more safely!



The code was designed to be taught to and understood by children of seven years and upwards. But it is aimed at five and six year olds as well. In order to benefit they would have to understand six main safety points including such phrases as "First find a safe place to cross"; and "Look all round for traffic and listen."

To tell a child of that age that he must choose a safe place to cross a road ignores the fact that his perception of the speed of an approaching car or the distance it has to travel is unformed. He may see it and hear it but cannot necessarily judge how soon it will reach him.

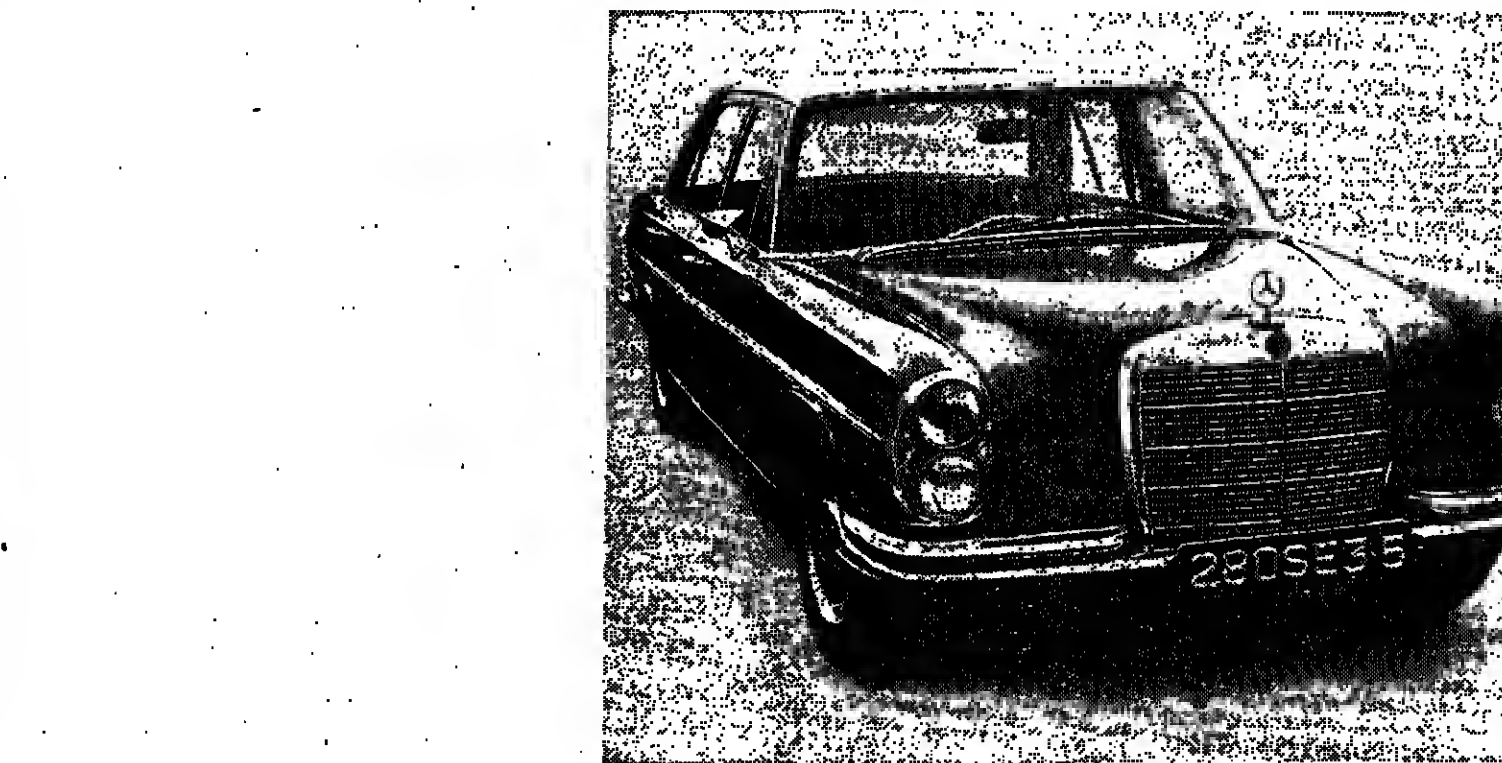
Such research as was done appears to be light. According to the Road Research Laboratory, who produced no full report on the results of the work, the research was divided into three parts. First, 836 adults (parents, teachers and full-time Road Safety Officers) were asked to rate 20 possible main points such as "choosing a safe place

search programme unless it can be seen that the questions were put in such a way that a child could be expected to understand; that criteria were established for deciding whether they understood or not. Much of that would depend on whether or not trained researchers were used. Whatever the answer, it seems just a little unfortunate that the Road Research Laboratory has only recently embarked on a project to discover the relative abilities of children of different ages to assess the danger of "approaching traffic." It sounds like a classic case of a solution being tossed up well before the problem has been fully examined.

Arnold Legh



If anybody can build a powerful alternative to the Mercedes-Benz 280SE it's Mercedes-Benz.



So now there's a Mercedes-Benz 280SE 3.5.

The Mercedes-Benz 280SE is a very successful car and constant enquiries point to even more success in the future. Interestingly, one feature of that success is the way 280SE buyers like to specify a whole range of optional extras.

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Contact us and we'll put you in touch with your nearest dealer. He will arrange a test drive for you—that way you can decide for yourself between the 280SE 3.5 and the 280SE.

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## THE SUNDAY TIMES

## The promise of Peking

SUMMIT meetings tend to invite scepticism. But not even the staunchest sceptic can deny President Nixon his moment of triumph in announcing his forthcoming visit to Peking. Had the Chinese not been deflected by the manic phase of their cultural revolution, a Sino-American or Sino-Western rapprochement might have been possible some time ago. It has been the President's luck to have been in the White House during the ping-pong, or unfreezing, stage of Chinese diplomacy. But as well as luck, his vision and determination have enabled him to develop that stage into something far more promising and significant. If his mission to Peking goes well, Mr Nixon will gain immense electoral advantage. This does not alter the fact that the mission with all its possible consequences will be the most hopeful international event for many years.

Among those consequences could be an end of the Vietnam war, the admission of China to the United Nations, and a new Great Power relationship in which Moscow may find it politic to seek a double détente with Washington and Peking. There can, of course, be no certainty of any of these. The question of Taiwan (Formosa) is particularly thorny. It is ludicrous that she should continue to represent mainland China in the Security Council. But that does not mean that she must forfeit all right to membership of the United Nations itself, nor that the US should withdraw all support from her old ally. But however these undoubted difficulties are approached, the important fact today is that the largest power on earth is at last emerging from its traditional isolation, with incalculable results for the balance of power in the world. That this should have been largely brought about by the man whom his opponents used to scorn as "Tricky Dickie" is not the least remarkable aspect of last week's announcement.

## Unity's high cost

YESTERDAY'S LABOUR conference, in refusing to be hulled by Mr Jones' big battalions, restored a measure of order to the party's deliberations over Europe. Once the conference had denied itself a vote for or against entry to the Common Market, its proceedings became usefully academic. The effect has been slightly to ease the position of Labour's Europeans. This diminishing band faced the prospect of voting for the Government's European package in October in the teeth of two overwhelmingly hostile conference votes. There will now be only one such vote. This should fortify some waverers.

Nothing which happened yesterday, however, altered the direction in which Mr Wilson is "leading" the party. With an unflinching eye for the lowest common denominator, he awaits only the right moment to announce his opposition to entry. This will probably occur in the same week as the publication of his book, in which he records his sublimely impudent efforts in 1967 to explain to de Gaulle how together the two of them could lead Europe. To Mr Wilson himself that kind of contradiction is part of the game of politics. But Mr Wilson's standards are not everybody's, and not every Labour leader's. Mr Healey has had a good deal of practice in flexibility, but Mr Crosland is not a natural turncoat. His apostasy has invoked party unity as its guiding principle. This raises two questions. Is unity the real issue? And is giving priority to unity the best way to maintain Labour's strength?

As a threat to the party's unity, the European issue is likely to have a limited life. Memories of Clause Four and unilateral disarmament, and the endless public rows thereon, have caused some MPs to compromise with their European principles. Yet the analogy is unsatisfactory. Whereas Clause Four remains a live issue because it is always possible to nationalise what has not hitherto been nationalised, Europe will become in principle a dead issue once entry has been gained—or even not gained. If Britain gets in, no Government will take her out. There is no reason why the extreme anti-Market faction should be allowed, by their desperate talk of a commitment to withdraw, to define the argument as one which will permanently divide the party. On the whole, the argument about Europe seems likely to have a rather less durable effect on the party's unity than it may be made to have on the standing and advancement, at any rate in the short term, of individual Labour leaders.

If unity, then, is a questionable product of these manoeuvres, how great is the sacrifice which is being made in its name? The answer must be: very considerable. At few points in what has become the Labour leadership position is there even a glimmer of credibility. Some politicians toss this aside as a laughable cliché. But to large sections of the public, credibility ranks somewhere near price stability as the missing goal of politics. Men who were so openly committed to Europe before look simply and irreducibly two-faced when they try to pretend that the terms are wrong. Respect for them suffers further when their conversion has been conducted with such negative opportunism that they have contrived no alternative policy. Among seasoned anti-Marketees, even the most insignificant little faction recognises the need to put forward alternative proposals. Labour, as the alternative government, needs another economic and another foreign policy, if it says no to Europe. But apart from Mr Callaghan's frivolous suggestion of economic growth, none has been forthcoming. Only Mr Healey, with his statement that entry is unacceptable while unemployment continues high, has more comprehensively trivialised the historic issue.

The bitterness felt by many Labour MPs towards the present Government's social and economic policies is radical and quite genuine. For anyone who is in politics to increase social equality, Heath Torvis has many repellent features. But for Labour Europeans to vote against the European venture in October, under the guise either of rejecting the terms or of preserving party unity, would be intellectually and politically unconvincing. Their votes may well prove not to be crucial. But just as entry to Europe will be irrevocable, so will rejection of entry. To vote against entry now is to do so for the indefinite future. To decline to support the Government on subsequent enabling legislation is another matter; then it will be up to the Cabinet to enforce its own support by demanding votes of confidence, if necessary. Until then, support for the principle is only honourable. Much as Mr Heath is hated by Labour, he is not more hated than was Mr Wilson by the Conservatives last year. This did not prevent Mr Heath making it clear that the party would support entry under Labour, on the right terms.

Not only a regard for principle suggests this course of action for Labour's true Europeans. Who can be so certain that, when Britain is a member of EEC, those who ducked and weaved and finally opposed will be best placed to lead the vibrant social democratic party which this country needs?

SAN CLEMENTE, Saturday  
SITTING in President Nixon's study, here at the "Western White House" in California, where Mr Nixon spends a lot of time with Dr Kissinger, his national security adviser, it is possible to see how one of the President's instinctive preoccupations, as he looks out over the Pacific, has been China. From the day he entered the White House proper, one of Mr Nixon's principal aims in foreign policy was to end the isolation of mainland China from the world community.

He knew that, in the critical negotiations for world peace, the world would remain dangerously unsafe without China's participation. Looking ahead some 15 to 20 years, even if the United States had a perfectly effective arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union, he was convinced that without China's being part of it and its leadership still isolated, it would be an inadequate safeguard to peace.

This is why he decided on several bold initiatives, most of them in secret, which were finally crowned by the clandestine Kissinger mission to Peking and the invitation for President Nixon to visit Peking. It is a move perhaps without historic precedent, for this will be a visit to a country with which the visiting Head of State has no diplomatic relations and none is being planned between now and early next year, the most likely time for the trip.

Another reason that led Mr Nixon to initiate such a bold move was the fact that the differences between Moscow and Peking still look irreconcilable and that the Kremlin, therefore, is incapable of doing what the President has done now. He is, of course, well aware that China's active participation will add a new dimension to diplomacy, whether in the United Nations or among the super powers. Three years ago he told me that to make common cause with the Soviet Union in containing China would have been interpreted by Asians as a policy influenced by white racism. In addition, he believes in a flexible diplomacy which keeps his adversaries guessing and he thinks that by helping to bring China on to the world diplomatic stage, he will improve his flexibility and also increase his options.

He may, in fact, already have broadened his opinions in his quest for a negotiated solution in Vietnam. Shortly after his inauguration in January 1969, Mr Nixon approached the Soviet Union in the hope that it could aid him in his negotiations with Hanoi. But the Russians proved without influence.

Almost at the same time, he

Henry Brandon discusses 'as spectacular an act of secret diplomacy as there has been in modern times'

## NIXON'S GAMBLE ON A VIETNAM BARGAIN

Instructed Dr Kissinger to initiate secret approaches to Peking. It was obviously a slow and difficult task and it remained a well-kept secret. Any papers relating to the Kissinger trip, for instance, the President did not peruse in his own office but only in the intimacy of his Lincoln Room.

Dr Kissinger, a true believer in secret diplomacy, has proved not only a patient, inventive, persistent and intellectually brilliant planner, but also a shrewd, sensitive activist. He kept his exploit an exclusively White House enterprise; no State Department representative accompanied him to Peking and when it was all over, it was Mr Rogers, the Secretary of State who notified some 20 Governments of the President's invitation to Peking and his acceptance.

Dr Kissinger, who sometimes jokingly compares himself to

Dr Strangelove, now looked much more like a Dr Houdini. It was as spectacular an act of secret diplomacy as there has been, especially in an age when the movements of a very important person of Dr Kissinger's rank one would have thought were almost impossible to hide. It was as if overnight, Mr Nixon had won the pingpong world championship.

Perhaps this accounts for the fact that the President and his closest advisers now exude an almost cocky assurance of knowing where they are going and a certain tired exasperation with their critics. A little while ago, our critics tried to tell us that we were hopelessly misguided in assuming that a negotiated Vietnam settlement is possible. But we insisted that it was, "one of the President's most trusted advisers said to me. "Now that the process of negotiations has

finally begun, they are trying to tell us not to negotiate but simply to accept the terms of the North Vietnamese and to set a date for the withdrawal of our troops. But we hold a different view of the meaning of negotiations."

Dr Kissinger never gave up hope of a negotiated solution and now he and the President appear convinced that they can get a better bargain than the North Vietnamese offered in their seven-point plan without running the risk of suffering President Johnson's fate. The first of the seven points, for instance, which asks the United States to set an end to its military involvement and to give up its "Vietnamisation" policy, is considered quite unacceptable.

Nor is Mr Nixon willing to set a date for the withdrawal of all American troops under the conditions offered. On the

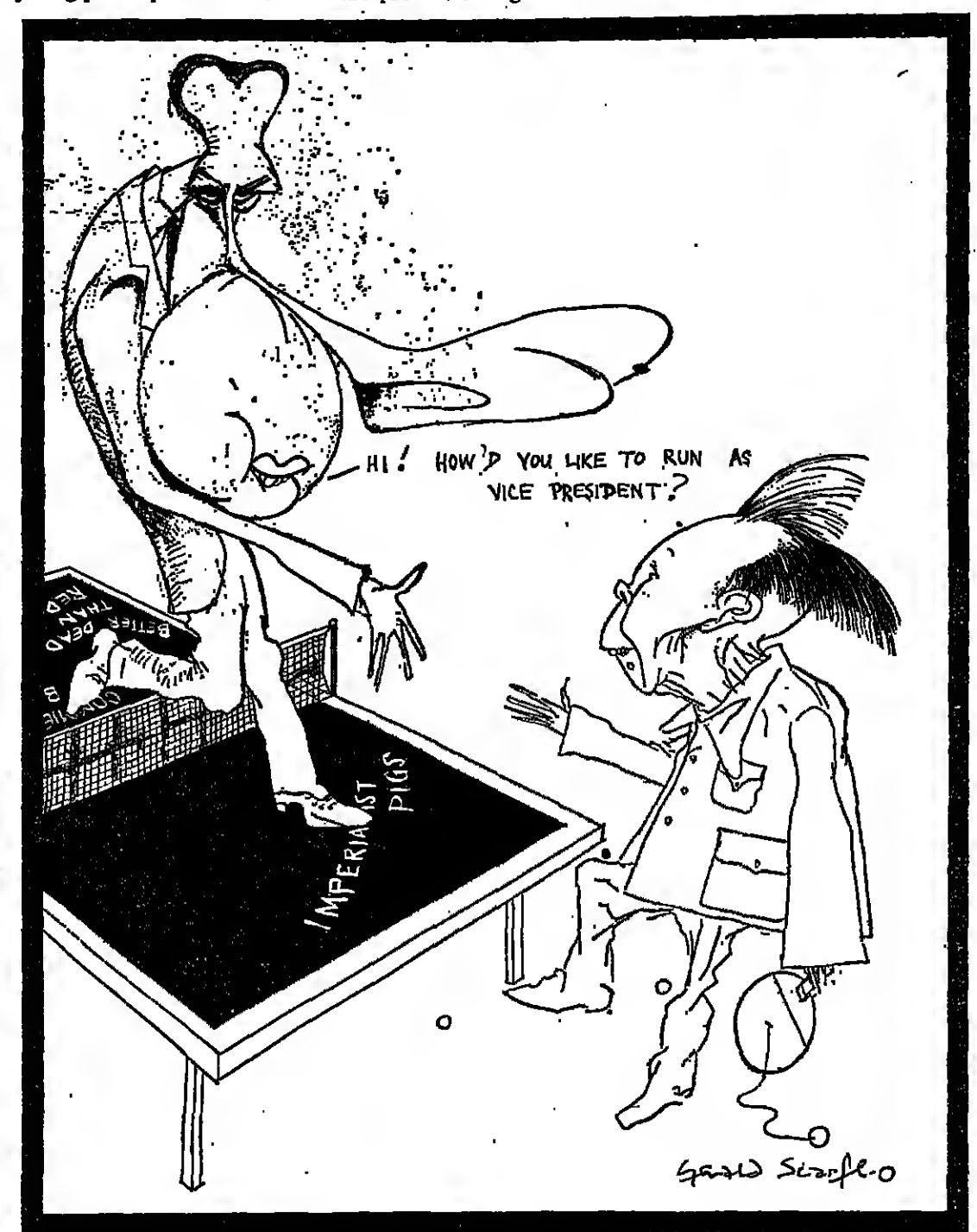
contrary, a firm withdrawal date is still seen as one of the most important bargaining cards in the American pack. The idea of asking Congress for a bi-partisan agreement in support of a firm withdrawal date as has been suggested in several quarters, especially outside the Government, holds no attraction.

Perhaps this is because the President is confident of negotiating better conditions than the ones offered so far and does not want to have to share the success with the opposition; perhaps it is because he does not want to risk weakening the Thieu Government before the presidential elections in South Vietnam on October 3. It is quite clear, therefore, from the mood at the White House West that there will be no quick and simple acceptance of the conditions proffered by the North Vietnamese despite the offer included in the terms to return the prisoners of war which has considerable public appeal here.

Perhaps, after Dr Kissinger's talk in Peking, the Administration now knows more than its critics and is therefore in a better position to assess the odds. The President continues to remain firm although he is well aware that American patience with the involvement in Vietnam is running out and that, as he put it himself last week in Kansas City, Missouri, "Vietnam has almost totally obscured our vision of the world." This world of the five great powers, as he sees it, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and Western Europe, will it is hoped spend the next few years defusing and winding down the arms race. Mr Nixon sees the dangers of armed conflict receding and competition in the field of trade stiffening.

As far as his own place in history is concerned, Mr Nixon's prospects are looking up. His bold initiative with China has reverberated around this country and around the world. And although he is obviously well aware that China's participation will greatly complicate world diplomacy and possibly annoy the Kremlin, he decided to proceed with his plans. The prospects also are that in the long run, United States interests will overlap more with those of the Soviet Union than China. China, in turn, has come to feel more in danger from its Soviet neighbour than from the United States.

In his study, at the "Western White House," here in California, Mr Nixon keeps a golf trophy—a golf ball perched on a golden tee. It is a souvenir of a hole in one which he achieved in 1952. Now he has scored an international hole in one.



## WILL LABOUR BE LEFT BEHIND?

ALTHOUGH it refrained, at its leaders' behest, from a pre-emptory and final rejection of Common Market membership yesterday, the predominant mood of the Labour Conference was clear and the policy decision which the National Executive will take on July 28 hardly seems in question. It still seems almost inevitable that the bulk of the Labour leadership and the parliamentary party will vote against Europe in October.

It also seems virtually certain that the number of Labour MPs who are prepared to support entry will be ample, with the Liberals, to give the Government the overall majority it needs. What is not so certain is whether, when the pro-Market Labour and Liberal votes are subtracted from the Government's total, it will still have a clear majority provided by Tory votes alone.

In other words, the political calculation that is important now is not so much head-counting of pro-Marketees on the Labour side as head-counting of Tory anti-Marketees who, when the crucial day dawns, really will be prepared to go into the lobby against their Government. Whether Mr Heath has 30, 40 or 50 Labour votes with him (provided he gets his overall majority, as he will) is now really less important than the extent to which he is forced to rely on Labour votes to balance Tory defections.

The second crucial question about which the Government must think is what the Tory anti-Marketees and the Labour pro-Marketees are going to do after the vote in principle has been cast, and when it comes to the subsequent legislation.

The starting point for answering both these questions must be an assessment of the likely number of Conservatives who will vote against the Market. The estimate of 30-plus, which some of the anti-Marketees themselves gave, is almost certainly too high when one takes into account the pressures that will be put upon them in the coming months.

These will come not simply, or perhaps even mainly, from the Whips but also, and perhaps more effectively, from the party chairman and constituency parties. One of the revelations of last Wednesday's gathering of the National Union—which really does represent the people who matter in the constituency parties—was the extent of the constituency support for Mr Heath.

It has been rather loosely assumed that because the Common Market project is so far unpopular among voters, it is also unpopular among Tory activists. This is not so. The conversion campaign undertaken by the Macmillan Government among the Conservative activists achieved lasting results. The idea that Tory local associations would be twisting the arms of their MPs to vote against the Market is largely illusory. The prospect is rather that constituency parties will from now on be twisting the arms of anti-Market Conservative MPs not to jeopardise the Government's existence on this issue.

Nevertheless, even after all the arm-twisting that will have taken place between now and the autumn, the present probability is that not less than 15 to 20 Conservative MPs will

## THE GREAT DEBATE

## COMMENTARY

## Ronald Butt

still vote against the Government. And, if all MPs of all parties vote in one way or the other, a defection of about 15 Conservative MPs could be enough to deprive the Government of its overall Conservative majority in the House, though it would still have a parliamentary majority by the grace of some Socialists and Liberals. On the other hand, the probability of abstentions confuses this picture. Abstentions on both sides—with probably more in the Labour Party than among the Tories—could well give the Government a Conservatively-provided majority, even if there are more than 15 anti-Market Tory votes.

It will be evident from this analysis that if any importance is attached to the Government's providing its own majority (and Mr Heath plainly does attach much importance to this) the vote may be a close-run thing. This is what explains the flirtation with the free-vote among some of Mr Heath's senior colleagues and among backbenchers.

By firmly attaching "confidence" to the issue in all their utterances, however, Mr Heath and Mr Maundling have unambiguously demonstrated their belief that putting the Government at risk is the best way of guaranteeing its safety and even, perhaps, of ensuring

that it is able to provide its own majority whatever the Labour pro-Marketees do. By this means, the anti-Marketees may be pushed to the position into which so many previous rebels have been driven: that is to say, of voting against the Government to the maximum degree that will, nevertheless, not endanger its life.

In making their calculations about how far they can go, the Tory rebels must all the time watch the intentions of the Labour pro-Marketees who in turn are watching them. The truly dedicated Labour Marketees do not want to lose the enterprise to which they are devoted, and even those in the Shadow Cabinet cannot really relish the return of a Labour Government under Mr Wilson in circumstances which would really mean the end of all hopes of a Britain-in-Europe. The Tory rebels, on the other hand, do not want to gain their way at the cost of losing power.

Of course, it is still arguable that a parliamentary victory by Mr Heath and his friends is not good enough. But this was an argument which had much greater force when it seemed that the Government might continue to face undiminished hostility in the country and trouble in its constituency associations. Now that it seems that public opinion is on the turn—and it will handwaggon more in the Government's direction as success becomes a reality—and that the Conservative constituency officers are remaining firm, the Government has much less to fear from its parliamentary rebels, who are, themselves, increasingly boxed in. But assuming that all goes

well, or well enough, for the Government in October, what about the danger from Tory rebel hostility and the withdrawal of pro-Market Labour support in subsequent legislation? My own view is that this danger may prove more apparent than real. If the Labour Europeans feel that they can fairly withhold their support from the Government, they have registered their support for the Market in principle. It is possible that a number of Tory anti-Marketees, having made their point in principle, will see no case for upsetting the Government over points of detail.

Irrevocably we are now moving towards a three-line Whip on both sides, and what will be, fundamentally, a vote on party lines, with conscientious exceptions on both sides. In this confrontation, the Government will win and if, as is likely, a new phase of economic expansion is now beginning and, additionally, the impact of Market entry is not as drastic as many people now fear, Mr Wilson and Labour will be left in an isolated position in which they may not even have popular support behind them.

Both party leaders are marching towards this climax by way of turning the issue into one of party unity. But each construes party unity in a very different way. To Mr Heath, party unity is when the whole party (or almost all of it) falls in behind his policy. To Mr Wilson, party unity is when he and his colleagues fall in behind the party. The former, I think is the right road to a victory of substance as distinct from a shadow triumph.

## Sexy summer studies

Robert Yoak

EVERY NOW AND then I look down my pen and look to see what women are doing. (Actually, I use a typewriter but one can't write down my typewriter. Moreover, I have a two daughters, so I have to know what a woman and two girls but three isn't an example, even by pre-pooling standards.)

For such arcane one should turn to and who is more expert of women's magazines? To the local pharmacist bought this month's several women's mummbling something drug-store man about looking for summer n. Why did I feel the mumble anything. Because as soon as picking up the magazine found out that what interested in—nay, t by—is sex.

The coverage of tricky business under of circumstances. In paper it is incredibly every editor and ever list has to remember papers are read by family.

With that self-imposed mind, he report oo what women, and what learning, in 1971:

The hottest women's magazine, sexpro, is, regrettably, among other choice "Mademoiselle's" spe on Female Sexuality. offers these items: "The Barriers Ar But Where Is All? Coming From? A Lady's Lament."

The titled author Birk, also the Baron and a member of the House of Lords, says the new frankness. But, she asks with Brill cool, is it possible to supply to meet the demand? No, she there won't be true of the sexes, either, until expose their natural and make advances; I take the same risks—the same rebuffs—tha (I won't mind waning advances—I'm a contribute that must cause of female freed will my wife know the operating to help th And if she doesn't, v Birk ball me out? "Miraculous. Little cises to Improve Yo making."

We do better in t writes the author, wh half asleep or under fluence of a little alcohol neither sleep nor liquor able, she says, these m exercises help re same tedious-free sta (Note the use of w "miraculous" in the Significantly, they sound like advertiser dishwashing detergent exercises, by the way alone.)

"Cooking at H If you think sex left out of a cooking don't know your "C th." This girl lter into a gray-eyed hach joking in the park nui on physical fitn Would you like to barrels? Better yet, you ook dinner at h Shagrees. "He sh changes while you meat cooking (hee noff). When asks if a shower—he has a comfortable you can? (Spad) limitations me from telling you, one comes out. I stroganoff stick? I know ar miraculo exercises. You'll ha the magazine."

—Cosmo Girl's Gu New Etiquette. This "Extra Supe 64-page tea-out hoo with "the private public you and the you." Mostl the latte (Did you ever su example, the there quote one chapk "Twenty-Fre Th Things to Do for s Bedroom? Ten y there weren't more or three.) —Complete Novel Summer Reading."

The novel is called of Angels. For years Hel handled her marria fully, but now he w with a problem how fight a rival wh has going for her best crass youth? (In Heleoa's selte would try the tife twenty-five thought in the bedroom, and stroganoff. If not work, I would tr a judo, or if all se subscription to anth zine.)



## INSIGHT

THE GREAT DEBATE  
ANALYSIS

## How Wilson took the lonely road back from Europe

OLD MACMILLAN, at has no doubts about its struggle on the Market. Seated last in the country, defying the blistering heat in a waistcoat and thick suit, he had the relaxed prophet fulfilled. "I knew they would rat," he said. His visitor inquired: "It's just like the old Mac," he replied. "They are in favour of rearmament not under Chamberlain."

an explanation of the oil on the Left in the past months, Macmillan's is, in verse way, correct. For as there were genuine qualms behind Labour's lings in the late Thirties, Labour's dilemma over common Market is an irritable one, and simply the bulk of the party do not want to see the European Community: the bulk of leadership do.

between these poles, the one is taking many forms. It is a battle for leadership, partly the result of the forward sleight of hand of crucial meetings, the manoeuvrings of fearing to lose their place in the party. And in the background, the sense of a renewal of the ten-year battle—first in 1962 on the issue of disarmament—between the Gaitskellites and the

at the heart of the remains the lonely of Harold Wilson, teetering between a personal belief in Market and the need to coalesce the rival factions.

fecting the footwork of it, Healey and Crosland, a wit described it as: "Gents in Search of a Party." But one of Wilson's advisers—Harold Lever, a pro-Market man—put problem with genuine truth: "Poor Harold," he heard to remark in the of Commons tea-room, "he drinks, the water is red; if he doesn't, he will thirst."

CRITICAL miscalculation in fact, from Harold. It came even before people were aware of the ding crisis. The date is a pin down, but it seems to have been around the middle of January. The decision is equally hard to define; it percolated through corridors of Westminster, sense was this: Harold, ill in favour of Europe—but he was having doubts, mattered was that he not, in any case, must have made for entry. He might come out against.

son's reasoning was, as complex—but its roots were a straight leadership. What happened was this. Last ten days of January, Labour MPs—half the Party—signed an "any day motion" in the Commons that entry to the Market "on the terms envisaged would be in the interests of the

That was their public declaration. In private, the group went much further. There was open talk that if Harold should be unwilling to lead Labour against the Market, another leader would.

He was, of course, Jim Callaghan. The Left even had a candidate to replace Roy Jenkins as deputy: Anthony Wedgwood Benn.

## Open challenge at the NEC

Callaghan brought the issue to a head through the first half of February. And at a parliamentary Press lunch on February 17, he issued an open challenge: "It is his (Heath's) own responsibility if he wants to take us into the Common Market to carry his own party with him. Heath must be able to rely on a majority of the Commons from his own party." In other words, the Labour Party—even including its Marketeers—should do the job of an Opposition and oppose.

In the normal run of things, though, Wilson-Jenkins could have stayed off Callaghan-Benn without even breaking into a sweat. But two other factors intervened.

The first was the meeting on February 24 of Labour's

National Executive Committee. Since the NEC figures in the calculations which follow, it is worth spelling out that, of its 30 members, 28 are a mixture of MPs and trade-unionists elected by the party-at-large at its annual conference. The other two are the leader and deputy leader of the party in Parliament. Wilson and Jenkins. Between annual conferences the NEC meets monthly meetings up in the board-room at Transport House, the Labour headquarters, are the cockpit in which the Parliamentary Party confronts its backers in the country—most pointedly, the unions.

The February 24 meeting had to decide a major point of policy: what to do about the firms the Tories proposed to "hive-off" from the nationalised industries. That Labour should re-nationalise them was not in question. The debate centred on whether compensation should be paid. Wilson and seven colleagues in the Commons—including Jenkins, Healey and Shirley Williams, "all the Gaitskellites," as one Left-winger said with more vigour than accuracy—argued for compensation. They were decisively beaten: 13-7. Wilson could no longer sway the NEC. A Trades Union-Left axis had taken over.

The view inside the Labour machine is that Wilson was shocked by this defeat. "He hadn't realised quite how far the party had moved while he had been writing his memoirs," said one party bureaucrat.

In the context of a Market battle, the arithmetic of the NEC looked just as bleak for Wilson. Of the 28 elected to the NEC last October, at the annual conference at Blackpool, 15 were pro-Market. But one marketeer, Arthur Skeffington, had since died. And Wedgwood Benn had, for a variety of motives, begun to vote anti-Market. So the NEC tally was 14-13 against entry—and likely to worsen.

So if it came to a leadership fight, Wilson's position was exposed. He could not rely on NEC support. And the party in Parliament was notionally balanced 140-140. But while all the anti-Market would presumably vote for Callaghan, would all the pro-Market vote for Wilson? What if Jenkins intervened? Wilson would be squeezed into oblivion.

Narrated briskly, these calculations sound Byzantine, even discreditable. But, to be fair, arithmetic—the head counting of the Chief Whip, the gauging of the rival strengths—is basic not only to any hold on power, but even to preserving the coalition of forces which make up both the great parties.

For Wilson, though, these sums were even more urgent. Because he did not think Heath's attempt to enter Europe was going to succeed. So why should he stick his neck out?

We have excellent grounds for thinking that throughout the first three months of this year, the information that was coming from Paris—on occasion relayed at private social gatherings even by the French ambassador in London, Mr Geoffrey de Courcel—was that President Pompidou was still against.

The possibility that faced Wilson, therefore, was a leadership crisis in, say, May—in which, fighting Callaghan, he would be forced to defend his

belief in Market entry. Followed by the collapse of the negotiations in, say, June. You do not have to be a Wilson to work out what that would have done to him.

So, in realistic terms, Wilson reckoned he had no choice. Not to be outflanked by Callaghan, he began to move away from the Market.

"HAROLD DESERTED the high ground," said one of his friends. "He forfeited the chance to tell the Left that, if they decided to make an anti-Market stand the Labour platform, they would have him to fight."

Could Wilson have achieved that anyway? "There has been no swing in the party at large," said one activist. "What's coming out now is merely the old opinion, unrestrained by office."

There is much in this. From the clear pro-Market statement of the 1967 Labour conference—largely stamped through the NEC by Wilson and George Brown—successive conferences have seen the leadership driven into ever vaguer references to Europe. For any final conference decision on entry must always be controlled by the block votes of the big unions, like the Transport and General Workers'. And the uneven quality of much of that union's debate on Europe was perhaps best captured by the speaker at last week's TGWU conference who, amid murmurs of approval, referred to the French as "a nation of brothel-keepers."

Wilson would probably never have been able to win. What is certain, though, is that by his actions to stave off Callaghan, he made it impossible for the Marketeers even to put up much of a fight.

The battle has not been about how Labour should come out against it. And the personal struggles among the leadership have been to adjust, more or less gracefully, to that inevitability.

## Callaghan taken off the fence

The crucial manoeuvres came at the June 23 meeting of the National Executive to decide whether to hold a special conference to formulate policy on entry. The pro-Market did not want one; they reckoned that a summer of Government propaganda would swing public opinion from its present hostility towards a 50-50 split on the issue, which in turn would give them a stronger base from which to appeal to the normal annual party conference in October. The anti-Market wanted a special conference, for precisely the same reason.

THE MARKETEERS were outmanoeuvred. Barbara Castle did it; Frank Allaun almost wrecked it. Barbara proposed that the special conference should just "take note," of the Government's proposals, but take no vote. Who could object to that? In particular, it got Callaghan off a nasty fence. He had objected to Heath "hounding" the country into a decision; now, presumably, he was against the hounding of the Labour Party. A no-vote conference resolved his dilemma.

Then Allaun blundered in.

"You must understand," said a friend of his afterwards, "Frank is good on Housing and Peace." Bad on tactics; he proposed an amendment that the conference should take a binding decision. "We had won the middle ground," an anti-Market recalled. "Frank damned near lost it." He was hurriedly defeated. Ian Mikardo, chairman of the NEC and a vehement anti-European, said later: "I could have kicked his teeth in."

Then came the crucial vote on the special conference itself. The anti-Market had thought they would lose by 14-12. But one union pro-Market was strategically absent on "other important union business." This was balanced by Wedgwood Benn (a pro-conference man) who left before the vote. But Callaghan, to their surprise, voted for the conference. And so did a crucial pro-Market, Shirley Williams. She later claimed to have misunderstood and tried, in vain, to reverse her vote. Cynics, however, noted that Mrs Williams's place on the NEC depends upon union backing at party conference.

With the vote safely 13-11 for a no-decision conference, chairman Mikardo spelled out what old hands had known all along: "Conference is master of its own procedure." If conference, once convened, wanted to vote, it could. It was a neat trap. Someone asked Barbara Castle afterwards about her no-vote tactic: "It was the only way I could get Jim and Shirley to vote for it," she explained.

But Wilson fought to preserve his freedom to manoeuvre. He won a week later, at another NEC meeting, specially called on June 30 to decide what, if anything, the NEC should recommend to conference.

Two documents had been written in Transport House: one anti-Market by Terry Pitt, head of research; the other, reaching no decision, by Tom McNally, head of the international department. Nominally, the plan was that these should be married into a document which the NEC would then send on to conference.

We have good reason to think that Wilson sabotaged this plan. The NEC meeting was presented with both documents. And ignored them both. Instead, Wilson produced his own piece of paper, spelling out merely the timetable to be followed in The Great Debate Ahead.

To the anti-Market's chagrin, this declaration of neutrality was passed: 10-9. Judith Hart, a pronounced anti-Market, supported Wilson. She explained to friends later that what she called "issues of leadership" were beginning to be prominent. "I wanted to dampen them," she said simply. Wilson had got his open conference.

"You can't help liking Jim," said one of Callaghan's admirers. "His manoeuvres are so transparent they are not really malicious." Judith Hart's "issues of leadership" had indeed emerged over the six weeks the NEC had been debating. They centred, inevitably, on Callaghan.

He had at last come down publicly anti-Market on May 25—in a speech at Southampton which actually included a reference to "the language of Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton." (Asked if he had drafted this remarkable effort,

one of Callaghan's collaborators said: "Be fair, would I be that barefaced?")

It took no political genius to see that in this autumn's elections for the party leadership, Callaghan was, ponderously, paving the way for a candidacy on the lines of "reluctantly, I have been persuaded... for the good of the party..." Wilson, as ever at his best when counter-punching, headed him off in two sentences. In a speech in Wales on July 3, he touched upon the leadership: "No-one has the right to election." Wilson said. "Equally, I must now make clear, no-one has the duty to accept nomination against his

will..." That, for the moment was that.

But with the Wilson v Callaghan shift to one side, and the Jenkins-Stewart-Thomson-Lever pro-Market group unwavering at the other, the process had left marooned in the middle two political heavyweights: Denis Healey and Anthony Crosland. Which has dismayed them both.

Crosland is pro-Market. But he is also envious of Jenkins, who just beat him for the Chancellorship, and scared of his own position: in the September 1969 Cabinet shuffle, Wilson nearly dropped him. Crosland has decided he needs a power base. In last year's party conference elections, he was runner-up for an NEC place. This was partly a fluke, but since then, as one of his friends explained: "Tony has spent the most boring year of his life making speeches and friends in any Labour group that will have him. He wants to get on the NEC. He's not going to throw a year's work away by voting the wrong way on the Common Market."

Healey has much the same problem: he feels isolated. "I don't have a Friends of Roy Jenkins club," he lamented once. But he did get on to the NEC last year—with the lowest vote—and he intends to stay. Moreover, he is convinced that a severe economic crisis next year, possibly including devaluation, will result in an election which Labour will win. He sees no reason why he, or the party, should conveniently damage itself on the Market issue in the meantime. "He would rather get a medal for achievement than uprightness," as one observer put it.

Jenkins, meanwhile, has concentrated upon keeping his head well down. His strategy is simple; he has to be seen to be the one man who does not waver. He could do nothing else even if he wanted to—not that he does. Ten years ago, Hugh Gaitskell said of him: "Roy is an extremist on Europe." He has not changed.

His problem is to restrain the enthusiasm of his followers—a section of whom, led by William Rodgers, are thirsting for a show-down with the anti-Market. Rodgers, was prominent in the 1962 "fight, fight and fight again" battle, and as one of Jenkins's more pacific lieutenants remarked: "I think Bill dreams he is back there."

Jenkins knows that a section of the Left see the Market issue, as does Rodgers, as the excuse for the final climactic of the 1962 Gaitskellite versus the Left battles. But they are relatively few in number:

Mikardo. Michael Foot and the Tribune group, perhaps 20 more. And, ironically, Jenkins' best protection against their assault is not his own followers but the broad mass of non-fanatic anti-Market who dread the thought of old wounds reopening.

ORCHESTRATING this huddle, Wilson has two objectives: an orderly retreat from Europe, and no witch-hunts afterwards. (He seems determined, for instance, to preserve Jenkins as his deputy leader. As for his own position, a close former colleague said simply: "He has no credibility to lose.")

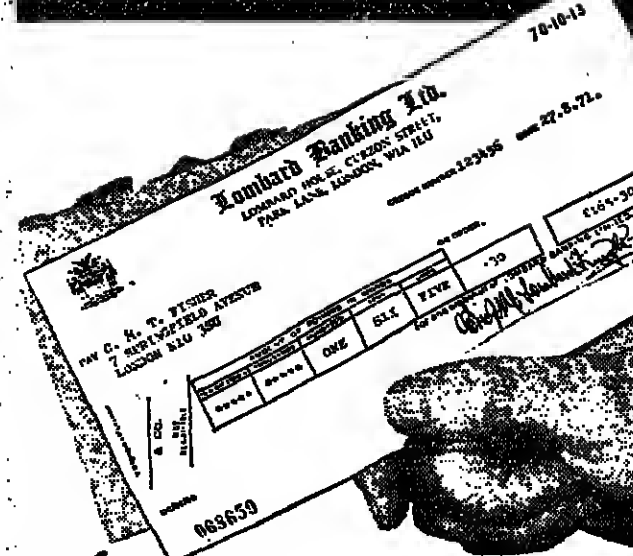
Amazingly, he has succeeded—so far. His victory in staving off a decision at yesterday's conference, inevitably, owed much to backstage deals. The Union of Post Office Workers' delegation, for instance, was mandated to vote for a decision. After pressure from Wilson on Friday night, the UPW leader, Tom Jackson, swung his delegation round. The National Union of Public Employees' delegation was mandated to abstain; after much discussion they voted against a decision. Those two alone added 500,000 to Wilson's majority.

## Gatherings among the geraniums

As for bitterness, cahals and smoke-filled rooms, casual inquiries have revealed little of the one and few of the other. The most caustic comments come from the Jenkins's men, loftily regarding other people's manoeuvres. "I should have thought," said one, "that preserving one's power base in the party at large at the cost of sacrificing one's following in Parliament was counter-productive." This high moral tone, though, was rather spoiled by the Jenkins's man who teased one back-sider last week: "Well, you'll never get a job in a Jenkins government."

But Wilson's real achievement was perhaps best illustrated by two gatherings last week. They were on Sunday and Tuesday: Wilson was there on Tuesday. And they were in the nearest the debate can so far muster to a smoke-filled room, the stupendous Belgrave apartment owned by one of the most fervent Marketeers. There, on the geranium-scented first-floor terrace overlooking Eaton Square, were to be found all shades of the party's Market opinion, united in consuming Harold Lever's liquor.

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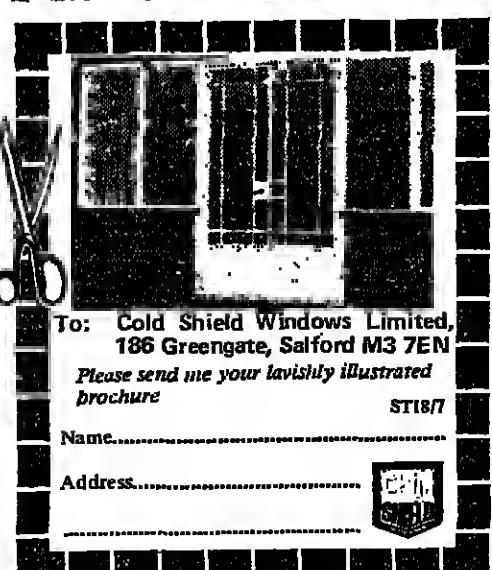
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fortune  
Orleans

with consternation Mr. Kestler's suggestion, in view of the fact that the Orleans (Arts, July 3) like other misanthropes, began a fortnight of led mass-hysteria in 1969, to have been engineered by me. "Engin-land" use it lightly without

in 1966, I wrote about an abduction, an example while slavery methods, in Sex Slavery which was and serialised in a countries and praised as a warning.

magazine quoted the made it "news" by it as a "recent event". Because the Orleans along editorial lines, soon after this, the possible link between the and—through some mental process—the

as Mr. Morin's book that to Mr. Kestler that my story was not authentic, my point out that Mr. Kestler, and accepts as identical abduction in a dress shop. Ironically, the episode I reported as place in Grenville had, in fact, in Marseille, led to change the locale of my sources.

circumstances I feel that red was a most un- and unfair word to use part in the story.

Stephen Barby Wemyss

## miscast

MARGACH'S list of 40 Market fence-sitters includes eight names who are in fact named in the advertisement in the Market.

Other eight names are Archer, Arthur Irvine, Johnson, Walter Johnson, Sheldon, John Smith, and Philip White.

Shirley Summerskill London, SW1

Margach writes: Sorry that research into the Market of 287 Labour MPs, covering signatures, but also the personal intentions (not always real), occasionally miscast and her colleagues.

LETTERS  
TO THE EDITOR

200 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1

WURRING  
GUARD GOD  
PATOLY

**SLOW READERS**  
selection of  
letters—page 20

## Still jobless

MR P W BROWNE (Letters, last week), who thinks that unemployed executives should only be entitled to a free weekly insurance stamp after a six months' unemployment period, does not know the facts of life. Sacked executives do not spend six months convalescing, but vigorously trying to find a job. There are plenty of unemployed workers trying to find jobs of £10 to £20 a week, better than a former managing director. Employers are understandably inclined to recruit their lower paid workers from those who are likely to stay satisfied with their lot. Unemployed executives, like other workers, have contributed to National Insurance, and of course they are entitled to claim their full unemployment benefit. They have also contributed, through income tax and surtax, to that useless organisation, the Professional and Executive's Register of the Department of Employment, and if Mr Browne is really interested in public expenditure he should turn his attention to making it more efficient in deploying available talent.

Bertrand T Whitehead London N6

Yours, sacked  
by Weinstock

WHO is to say that the staff cuts were not necessary? asks the author of the latest instalment of your saga of Weinstock's 1000 Days at GEC (Business News, last week).

I am prepared to volunteer. And having been made redundant a fortnight ago at AET Scientific Instruments Ltd (Harlow), along with 200 workmates, and as former convenor of shop stewards, I feel that I have some qualifications to speak.

Our redundancy notices were handed to us the week after we had received medals to commemorate our part in gaining the Queen's Award for the one million-volt microscope.

The cuts may be justified if industry exists purely to boost the profits and unearned incomes of its shareholders with no other criterion. But they are utter madness if, on the other hand, industry's purpose is to utilise the skills of highly trained men to manufacture products of use to the community as a whole, and by so doing, provide them with the opportunity for employment.

It is now clear to an unprecedented extent to the men who work in the new town of Harlow that control of industrial giants like GEC must be wrested from the Weinstocks who appear totally blind to the social purposes of our industries—ours, not just theirs. Public ownership and increasing industrial democracy within a national plan aimed at national wellbeing, not just profits for the few, is the only answer.

Charlie Adams Harlow

## Like Venus

I FOUND Mr Eyles Brandreth's letter (last week) both unattractive and distasteful. The proportions of the LOOK pages' Jane Gould are very similar to those of the Venus of Willendorf, the classic sculpture in the Tate Gallery. She comes close to the traditional ideal of beauty, in marked contrast to the skinny girls who successfully masquerade as schoolboy boxers in last week's Magazine.

Peter J Hodgman Orpington

Why Sir John  
may be right

From Mr Val Gleigud  
I WOULD not dream of locking horns with Mr Harold Hobson regarding his assessment of my brother John's performance in Caesar and Cleopatra (Arts, last week). I am not a drama critic.

But Mr Hobson takes exception to the fact—for which, incidentally, he provides no proof—that Sir John Gleigud harmed the contemporary theatre by advising Sir Alec Guinness and Sir Ralph Richardson not to accept engagements in Waiting for Godot.

It may be news to Mr Hobson that quite a number of intelligent people, apart from actors of distinction, to this day regard Waiting for Godot as a pretentious bore, just as they regard Mr Wesker as over-praised, and the Theatre of Non-Communication as a contradiction in terms.

Val Gleigud Lewes

## Rab devious?

SUSAN BARNES' fascinating interview with Lord Butler (Magazine, last week) raises an interesting question for students of Westminster politics. Was "Rab" Butler devious or did he just display guile?

It is less than ten years since, as Home Secretary, he introduced the first Bill to restrict immigration to the Commonwealth. During its passage through the House, the question was raised whether its provisions ought not to apply equally to the citizens of the Irish Republic. His answer that it would be impossible to enforce them in practice was, at best, misleading at worst, untrue. Subsequent Home Secretaries have been equally careless in repeating it.

Is Lord Butler willing to swear on oath that his officials did not inform him that it would need only a minor amendment to the National Insurance Act, to exercise a completely effective and fool-proof method of control, by simply putting an end to the unconditional issue of National Insurance cards to applicants without UK-issued passports.

The Home Office have certainly been aware of this possibility and the Ministry of Health and Social Security are privy to this loophole. It is just another illustration of the way in which Administrations have been less than frank with Parliament over immigration policy. The Bill now reaching its final stages in no way puts an end to this Alice-in-Wonderland tale.

Peter Berliner London WC1



Pollution: Cllr Byle with water from Wilson Brook above and below the CPA factory. Behind, part of the factory's industrial waste plant which Cllr Byle blames

## Wilson Brook: dead or alive?

From the chairman, Hyde Town Development Committee  
I CONGRATULATE your initiative in undertaking the clean river project and in encouraging children to test for water pollution through your Clean Stream Kit (see today's Colour Magazine).

The task is enormous, as you say, but by generating the right climate of public opinion you will do incalculable good and ensure rapid action by river boards and local authorities.

An example of the problems we face: I have just taken two bottles of water from spots only a few hundred yards apart in Wilson Brook, a small tributary of the River Tame in Hyde. One

bottle was perfectly clear and drinkable, the other was a filthy dark green colour and certainly not drinkable. The reason is simple: the clear water comes from the brook above a Calico Printers Association factory—and fish swim in this water even outside the factory's front door; the other sample comes from below the point at which the factory discharges its industrial waste into the water. Needless to say, this part of the brook is putrid and completely dead.

(Conn) John Byle

Correspondents are asked to give a daytime telephone number where possible.

## US Press freedom: the issues

From the Chief London Correspondent, The New York Times  
THE MOST astonishing thing about Peter Calvocoressi's letter on the Pentagon papers (last week) was the signature. It is hard to believe that a man so sensitive to matters of civil liberty could take such an authoritarian view of the issues of Press freedom just decided by the United States Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court upheld the right of The New York Times and the Washington Post to publish material based on Pentagon documents. Mr Calvocoressi's chief concern is that this may put the newspapers in the position of deciding what may or may not be published when editors may not fully understand the significance of "secrets".

Moreover, we elect politicians; we do not elect editors. And some editors may be irresponsible "back street pamphleteers". To put it politely, those arguments are nonsense as either history or law.

1 The Framers of the American Constitution deliberately chose the risk of free speech and freedom of the Press. The single most important object of the First Amendment, protecting speech and the Press, was to prevent prior restraints on publications that the Government might think injurious.

2 Our Constitution is an experiment; but as Holmes said, all life is an experiment. And the United States has lived with it for nearly 200 years. During all that time the Federal Government has never persuaded a court to enjoin the publication of any newspaper. Somehow we have survived.

3 The entire American system of Government is based on the assumption that the Press will perform a rigorous function of scrutiny—once performed, in Britain to some extent by Parliamentary questions. Newspapers are as liable to make mistakes as anyone, but they do not concentrate power; they diffuse it. The theory of the American Constitution is that some inefficiency is a price worth paying for a diffusion of power. Nothing that has happened lately, for ex-

ample in Vietnam, suggests that this theory is faulty.

4 The theory that protects responsible editors may also protect back street pamphleteers, as Mr Calvocoressi says. But that again is part of the risk of freedom protected by a written constitution. The historic Supreme Court decision on Press freedom, the one that essentially governed the cases just decided, in fact concerned a scurrilous anti-semitic pamphlet.

Mr Chief Justice Hughes understood that when he decided in 1931 in favour of even the nastiest pamphleteer's freedom. The Constitution, he said, forbade any prior restraint on publication unless there were some imminent threat to national safety, as with the disclosure of troop locations in wartime.

5 The Supreme Court in the present cases held to that historic appraisal of interests. It did not, as Mr Calvocoressi implies, rule out any legal check on the judgment of editors. To the contrary, a majority of the Court was ready to step in if the Government could point to any immediate, definite threat to particular security interests.

To have sustained that view would effectively have allowed the Government on its own to decide what American newspapers could publish over a vast area of foreign policy issues.

Anthony Lewis London, EC4

## Frontier tactic

IN HIS article on Pakistan (last week) Murray Sayle refers to "pacification methods used on the North-West Frontier by the British of long ago, burning villages and gunning down their inhabitants".

The British Political Officers serving on the NW Frontier, and most senior army officers, were never keen on this "burn and scuttle" type of warfare. But on many occasions reprisals had to be taken after tribesmen had carried out a raid, or abducted a Hindu or British woman from inside Administered Territory.

However before burning a village warning was always sent to enable all women, children and old men to get well away before the arrival of troops. There was no "gunning down" of inhabitants.

(Brig) Eric Langlands Bournemouth

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## General Appointments

## Management Services/Computer Personnel Appointments

## General Appointments

## Are you level-headed enough for Management?

are aged between 22 and 28, have good 'A' levels or a degree, and believe in management potential, then this opportunity you have been waiting

city-Clark, world leader in disposable products is currently looking for with potential to work in their force.

Whether you want your present job, fit be banking, teaching, the Civil Service, insurance, accountancy or if you can think for yourself and want to change, then we are interested in you.

Our training programme will be designed and will with a standard three initial programme. From in your training will be raised and will include of intensive training in management.

If you're good, this will lead to a position as Sales Manager within two to four years. From then on you could progress to a key management post at home or abroad. Starting salary will recognise your present achievements and will progress quickly in line with your ability. In addition, a Company car will be provided and there are good bonus schemes and fringe benefits.

So, if you have no doubts about your potential, let's get together and discuss your possible future at Kimberly-Clark.

Please write to: T.A.I. Lancaster, Sales Training Manager, Kimberly-Clark Limited, Larkfield, Maidstone, Kent.

Kimberly-Clark Limited

## WORKSHOP TRAINING OFFICER

Our cotton plantations in the Awash Valley Area of Ethiopia require a suitably qualified and experienced man for the above position.

The duties involved in this appointment include the overall responsibility for the running of the plantation workshops, training local labour, and undertaking the maintenance of all agricultural and plant machinery and engines.

Candidates should hold a degree or other professional qualifications in Mechanical Engineering and have at least six years practical experience. They should also have experience in maintaining and repairing agricultural and stationary machinery and engines, diesel engines, workshop machinery experience, and sound workshop experience for M.T. vehicles and engines.

Excellent starting salary and fringe benefits are offered including: no-contributory pension scheme, 6 weeks annual paid home leave, education allowance, free accommodation, transport, etc.

Applications, which will be treated in strict confidence, should be addressed to: The Manager, Group Personnel Department, COTTIS GROUP LTD., COTTIS HOUSE, CAMOMILE STREET, LONDON EC3P 3AJ

## Fosco Construction Services

rapidly emerging group is an integral part of Fosco Minsap Limited, the multinational, world-wide organisation, and its growth and expansion is creating a demand for leading executives. We now require:

## Marketing Director Protim &amp; Gallwey Ltd.

Protim & Gallwey consists of a group of companies, with headquarters in Marlow, Buckinghamshire, and a subsidiary in the construction industry's plants and services field in the United Kingdom, Eire and France.

The line is to be strengthened by a Marketing Director who will be responsible for all marketing activities. He will control sales promotion and advertising, and will advise on new product development.

He will be assisted by a well-established and experienced sales staff, and only those men with a record of successful profit improvement in the construction supply field will be considered.

The range of 35-40 is preferred. Candidates should apply (giving details of qualifications, career, salary and age) to:

The Managing Director, Protim & Gallwey Ltd., 10, Church Lane, Marlow, Bucks.

## Further opportunities with EAST LEVINGSTON BUILDING LIMITED Singapore

A fast expanding shipyard which builds, repairs and maintains the offshore oil platform and drilling industry in South-East Asia. We are looking for men who possess knowledge and skill in each of the following areas: design, construction, and heavy steel structures. We are offering the development of our yard and are well-qualified and experienced shipyard to work with us at supervisory level, in the listed below. We require men who possess knowledge and skill in each of the respective areas, preferably with a technical qualification and 10 years' relevant experience.

Planning Engineers or Electrical, Mechanical/Piping and Hull to be responsible for detailed planning of job and involving estimates and scheduling in active lines.

Senior Design Engineers/ draughtsmen or Electrical, Mechanical/Piping Hull and Outfitting sections.

Project Managers to liaise with clients on job specifications and exercise overall co-ordination and on projects under way, up to completion.

Vehicles Engineer/Manager responsible for handling sales activities and securing orders for shipbuilding/ rig services.

Internal Auditor or Qualified Accountant aged 30-40, a competent understanding of all accounting procedures and systems.

Interviews will be on 3-year contracts with terms including return air passages for family, permanent Manager, MR. MOK, will be in the July 20th. Write immediately in strictest confidence to Mr. K. P. Mok, FAR EAST LEVINGSTON SHIPBUILDING LTD., Dept. (ST), C/o Carr & Carr, Carlisle Buildings, 67-69 Victoria Street, Liverpool 1.



## Group Systems Manager £5,000 plus car

Granada Group Limited, an expanding and vigorous Company with substantial interests in Television, T.V. rentals, theatres, leasing, publishing and property are looking for a Systems Manager. The group have a large interest in third generation computing and Real Time Line Systems. Ideally candidates must be data processing professionals with a good track record in successful project control and implementation who are also creative and capable communicators at Board level. The ideal age is between 30 and 40 and their current earnings will be of the order of £4,500. Granada operates a generous pension and life insurance scheme.

Please write in strictest confidence to R. B. Yearsley, Director, Reference Number: G.41.

BRANDON APPLIED SYSTEMS LIMITED, 80 Blackfriars Road, London S.E.1. Tel: 01-928 9511.

BRANDON

## French-Speaking MANAGEMENT CONSULTANTS

Established international firm, expanding its operations in Algeria, requires:

- \* ORGANISATION PLANNING SPECIALIST with oil industry background
- \* FINANCIAL SYSTEMS SPECIALIST with accounting qualification
- \* INDUSTRIAL ENGINEER with construction industry experience
- \* MINING ENGINEER with mine management and mineral dressing experience

Candidates should be graduates in age range 28 to 48. Salaries negotiable from £5,000 p.a. with attractive benefits. Please send c.v. to Box AV 256.

## CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

## Get value for your 'A' levels as an Executive Officer

There are opportunities for men and women in the new Administration Group whose members are employed in most Government Departments. There are also a few Grade 9 Officer posts in the Civil Service and some vacancies for Department Executive Officers who will be employed on more specialised work for which professional training is given. Career choice is wide, and future prospects extremely good.

QUALIFICATIONS: Applicants should be aged at least 17; and under 19; on 1st September, 1971, with GCE passes in English Language and four other subjects, including two at 'A' level obtained in one examination, or an acceptable equivalent or higher qualification.

For Diplomatic Service posts, 'A' level passes must include one language other than English.

Candidates who have taken examinations this summer may apply.

STARTING SALARY: £1800 at age 18 or under, £2070 at 19 rising to £2200. Salaries 25% higher in London and for some Departmental Grades. 5 day week in general. Non-contributory pension.

Full details and application forms (to be returned by 18th August, 1971) can be obtained from the Civil Service Commission, Alceon Link, Basingstoke, Hants. Please quote E/532/79.

## Sales Negotiator

c. £3750 p.a.

An excellent opportunity to participate in an exciting growth situation.

The Company, a subsidiary of a national Group, is developing rapidly and produces advanced computer-peripheral equipment. This appointment is new and provides splendid career prospects for a successful man who will be responsible for sales of the Company's equipment throughout the U.K. Ideally, he will be aged under 30, and have at least three years' experience in selling to end users. This experience could have been gained in visual-record computers, sophisticated office equipment or a similar field. He must also have a good basic knowledge of EDP equipment and systems. London or Midlands based. Company motor car. Pension, Life Assurance and B.U.P.A.

Please reply with career details, quoting reference 1405SC/ST, to:

EXECUTIVE SELECTION CONSULTANTS Robert Lee & Partners, 10, Berkeley Square, London W1X 6AR. (No correspondence will be entered into without written authority)

## APPOINTMENTS FOR WOMEN

appear on page 33

## MARKETING MANAGER £5,000 p.a.

Due to internal promotions and preparation for the next major growth phase, an outstanding opportunity arises for a Marketing Manager.

The need is for a professional Marketing man, by which we mean, a man who has demonstrated commercial acumen and flair.

The field is that of fast-moving capital equipment.

The job demands: high capacity to analyse and plan, the ability to implement through key line divisions, resilience and flexibility in order to capture opportunities in a high growth and high potential Company.

Demonstrable capacity to achieve is more important than purely academic expertise.

The Company would like men who fit this specification to write stating the reasons why they feel they should be considered.

There will be a Company car, Pension and Life Assurance amenities. Assistance with relocation will be provided if necessary.

Please state exactly what your present responsibilities are and indicate your total remuneration. Applications should be addressed to: Mr. S. H. Mallam, Group Personnel Manager.



LANCER BOSS Grovebury Road, Leighton Buzzard, Beds.

## Managing Director

## Quality Building Company

£8,000

A highly successful multi-million pound company specialising in major alterations, extensions and renovations for banking, insurance and other city institutions, wishes to replace its Managing Director on his retirement.

This London-based company is backed by the resources of an international group with a current turnover in excess of £100 million.

His work will involve personal contacts at the highest level of commerce and industry and will call for a man with a rare combination of marketing expertise and management success in the building industry.

The ideal candidate would be aged under 50 and is likely to be earning currently about £5,000. Starting salary will be negotiated around £8,000 and generous fringe benefits include a company car.

Written applications giving full details of qualifications and experience and stating any companies to which letters should not be forwarded, should be sent in the first instance to:

J.W.T. J. S. Sefting, Manager, (MD/ST) J.W.T. Recruitment Services, Moor House, London Wall, London EC2Y 5HS.

## Product Manager—Vending

We seek a Product Manager aged 25-30 with not less than three years' marketing experience in a sophisticated marketing operation with fast moving consumer goods.

This vacancy has been created owing to internal promotion and is concerned with the Vending of sophisticated products in an expanding section of the Company. This is a Product Manager with a difference with the opportunity to be involved in commercial and sales aspects.

Suitable candidates are unlikely to be earning less than £2,500 p.a. currently.

This is a senior post, the salary and fringe benefits reflect this, and include 4 weeks holiday, non-contributory superannuation scheme and life assurance.

Please write or telephone for application form to Mr. L. W. Tatton, Senior Personnel Officer, LR INDUSTRIES LIMITED, North Circular Road, Chingford, E4 8QA. Tel: 01-527 2277.

LR INDUSTRIES LTD

## TOP SALES EXECUTIVE

To wholesale and bulk buying outlets required by leading international Company, manufacturing ladies' and children's nightwear, knitwear and outerwear. A unique opportunity for the right man to get in on the ground floor selling the production from a new and exciting overseas unit of a large and established company. Applicants must have existing connection and should be intelligent and able to combine initiative with experience. First-class salary and prospects; Company car and expenses and backing of young and enthusiastic management. Write giving full details and telephone number to: The Sales Director, Albert Martin Holding Company, Spring Close, Clifton Boulevard, Nottingham NG7 2HZ.

## CONSULTING ECONOMISTS

Cooper Brothers & Co. Limited require additional staff to work on economic feasibility assignments in this country and overseas. The work, particularly in the fields of infrastructure and transportation development, involves economic surveys, econometric modelling, forecasting and the application of cost benefit techniques.

Applications are invited from economists and graduates of closely related disciplines, who can demonstrate relevant experience. Previous consulting experience would be an advantage but is not essential. Since the work may involve some travel, a working knowledge of one or more of the main European languages would be an advantage.

Successful candidates should be able to demonstrate their ability to work efficiently under pressure in multi-discipline teams and to communicate with client officials at all levels.

High starting salaries and excellent promotion prospects are offered in this expanding field. Brief but comprehensive details of salary and career to date, which will be treated in the strictest confidence, should be sent to: MSS 20/59, Abacus House, Gutter Lane, London, E.C.2.



## Are you a General Marketing or Commercial Manager?

We are a group of companies, broadly based in the construction and allied industries. The attitude of mind that we have fostered in the management teams that control our operating companies has directly contributed to our continuing success.

We wish to appoint an energetic self starter as manager to a new activity being undertaken by the Group. Although some knowledge of the construction industries is desirable, more important is an interest in marketing and general management experience.

Original training and experience is secondary, we believe, to an enthusiastic approach to commercial decision making, and an ability to succeed in a dynamic environment.

If you are a successful manager, who feels that you could achieve more in such an environment, Mr. T.M. Glenn, our Management Development Manager, would be pleased to hear brief details of your career to date.

Galliford Brindley Limited, Wolsey, HINCKLEY, Leicestershire.

## Training Manager Rank Hotels Ltd.

We are looking for a man who will be responsible for formulating and implementing training and management development programmes.

Candidates should be in their late thirties and combine comprehensive experience of hotel training with a thoroughly professional outlook.

Salary and conditions of employment are negotiable but they will attract men who can meet these requirements.

Applications in writing please to the Personnel Manager, Rank Hotels Limited, Royal Lancaster Hotel, Lancaster Terrace, London W2.

RANK HOTELS

## Chief Executive

International Investment Trust Group

An established reputation for financial management in an international context is required for this appointment. Substantial assets are already involved and considerable further growth is planned with the aid of powerful City backing.

Applicants must have the ability to negotiate at the highest level, to achieve the planned expansion, and to undertake the considerable administration involved. They will probably have qualified originally as accountants or lawyers.

A substantial salary will be negotiated for this key appointment, and equity participation is anticipated.

Enquiries should be addressed in the strictest confidence quoting reference number 1263 to P. R. Bingham, Clive & Stokes, 14, Bolton Street, London, W1T 5JL.

Clive & Stokes

Appointments & Personnel Consultants

## Textile Technologists

To meet the increasing work programme of their Textile Division, Staff are required for appointments in research and development, customer and technical services concerned with intermediate new projects. There are openings for applicants with experience in Fibre Production and/or Textile Engineering, preferably with a formal qualification in Textile Technology, and also for younger Technologists who wish to gain experience in this expanding field.

Attractive salaries will be paid and career prospects are good. Contributory Pension and Free Life Assurance Scheme. Generous holidays. Assistance with removal expenses where applicable. Applications to the Group Personnel & Training Manager, ERNEST SCRAGG & SONS LIMITED, P.O. Box 11, Macclesfield.

ERNEST SCRAGG & SONS LIMITED



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## by Robin Marlar

**Vivian Jen**

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**Vivian Jen**

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# Jonah's men beat the pain barrier

"JOHN EASTER probably won't thank me for telling you this," Jonah Barrington whispered, "but once he came off court after doing some weight training and having played 13 sets and he was crying, really crying. He wanted to continue but he was just too tired."

Barrington the professional has endured that sort of suffering regularly since he first took up squash seriously in 1964. He practically invented the phrase "pushing yourself through the pain barrier." Now, as coach to the British squash team which left yesterday for the world amateur championships in New Zealand, Jonah feels gratified that other British players are prepared to push themselves as hard as he has done. It contrasts strongly with his reaction when he returned from the 1967 Australian world championships, disgusted with the half-hearted approach of his team-mates and exploded with an outburst about dillettantes.

Jonah began training the four-man team 24 months ago on three nights a week. Each member had one weakness that Barrington concentrated on. In the case of the talented Mike Corby, 31, it was teaching him to vary his delicate drop volleys with hard, deep volleys, a particularly telling stroke with the Australian ball. Philip Ayton's legs were too weak, Barrington decided, so he made Ayton concentrate on running. Never an athlete at Hurstpierpoint, Ayton, at 24 the youngest member of the team, improved enough to come a respectable third in the Stock Exchange's 3,000m recently. Time: 10min. 15sec.

John Easter was plain unfit. "John's idea of training," said Jonah, "was to cut out the beer." That was Jonah's idea, too, only he did a few other things as well and the 26-year-old Easter was weightlifting and pounding the track. The fourth member of the team, Paul Millman, 24, was laid low for most of the pre-tour training with a series of ailments, but fortunately he was cured a week or so before departure. Barrington put him through an intense schedule to bring him back to peak fitness.

When the team began their training, Jonah looked peaked. "I've lost 9lbs in weight, I've got boils in my mouth and my ears and I had dysentery in Canada in May," he explained. In June a specialist said I was run down and should have a month's rest."

At that time he was struggling to beat some of his pupils. A month later, though still not fully recovered and not having taken his rest, he was beating two of them each night.

After three games with one of the team Barrington led them through a series of exercises. "Twenty press-ups," he shouted. Then they rolled over and did some bicycling and sit-ups. There was complete silence except when the irrepressible Corby made a crack at Easter. "Beautiful legs you've got now," he said as a leg poked out from under a blanket. "At that moment you could see what it means to Barrington to hear someone go off. He shouted: 'Come on, ten more,' and just to rub it in he added: 'And try to remember you're playing in a bloody world championship. You're not going to a Cook's tour.'"

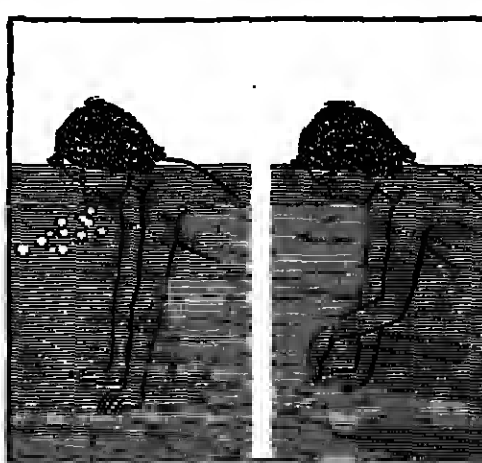
Through out all the exercises, Jonah seemed to be trying hardest. Easter and Ayton are the ones who have benefited most by Barrington's coaching and he believes they have improved 25 per cent in the last two months. For the moment a little of Barrington's reputation is at stake. He expects the team to come "at least second" in the world championship and they might if they can beat Pakistan, Australia's nearest rival.

Barrington's real target, though, is the 1973 event. When he started the training he had a firm view that he would be a champion. "I don't expect a world championship this year, but I 'luddy well do in two years' time."

John Hopkins

# IN THE SWIM

THIS is the first of a four-part series on swimming for children initiated and written by JUDY GRINHAM, devised and drawn by PAUL TREVILLION. It is a stage by stage, practical explanation of the basic swimming strokes for parents and children and proves that taking to the water and learning to swim can be fun. Judy Grinham won an Olympic gold medal in the 100 metres back crawl in Melbourne in 1956, and gold medals in the Commonwealth and European Games in 1958. Since then she has married and become the mother of two Keith, 10, and Alison, 8, with whom she is pictured right. She taught them to swim and her experience was salutary—it took two years' cossetting before she was successful with nine while the other swam almost immediately.



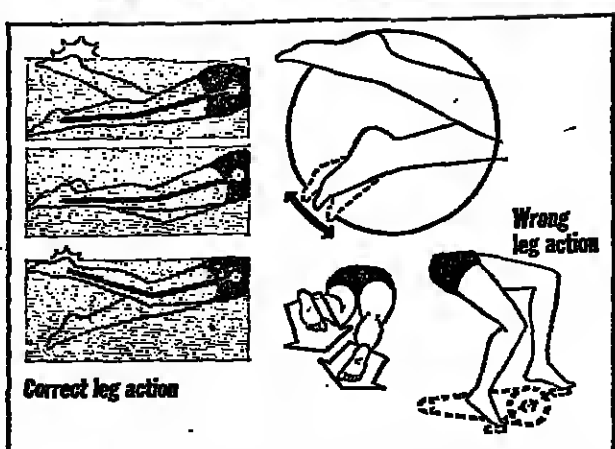
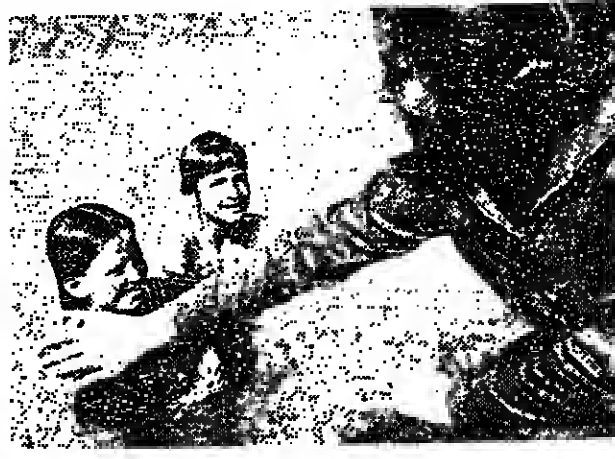
In the bath—before soaping—get him to put his face in the water and blow bubbles, open his eyes to see if he can see them. Then drop a coin to the bottom and ask him to spot it and pick it up without feeling. Give him a ping pong ball to blow across the

surface. Such games can be transferred to the swimming pool when he's gained confidence. You can invent your own games in the pool—anything to make it fun. Tell him to hold the rail and bob up and down. Try ring-a-ring-a-roses with Mum and Dad holding on tightly.

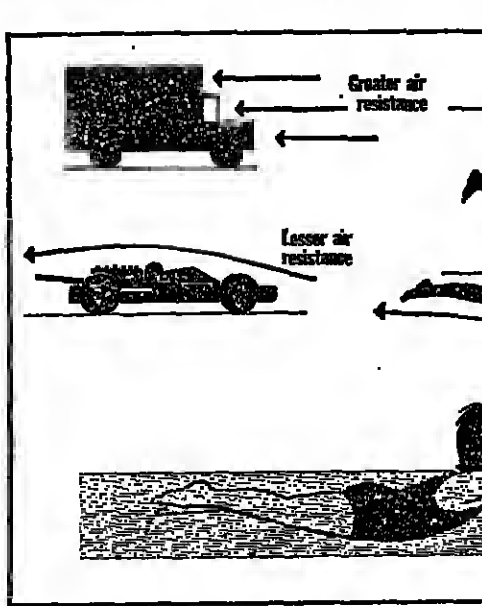
The main obstacle to conquer is fear. The earlier you take a child to the water, the better, and there is no reason why you should not do this when a baby is sitting up (6 months to a year). But do not do this until he takes willingly to his own bath at home, because a bathing pool is a frightening place at first to any young child. The sequence illustrated here demonstrates the stages leading up to doing the dog-paddle, the first step to swimming. For the beginner, it is the stroke which initially provides the best way of keeping afloat and moving in the water unaided. Try to start him in water where he can stand with his head well above the surface.

**DO** ● Buy inflatable arm-bands. ● Practise fun-games at home in the bath and at the pool. ● Allow your child to get out if he's cold. ● Let him see you laughing in the water. ● Take care to have a towel on the pool-side to wipe his eyes. ● Demonstrate as much as possible out of the water. ● Try to take your child to the pool when it's fairly quiet.

**DON'T** ● Force him. ● Teach your child too young—just take him to the water. ● Rush the early stages—let him master each part of the lesson. ● Give your child too much to remember. ● Expect too much—be patient.

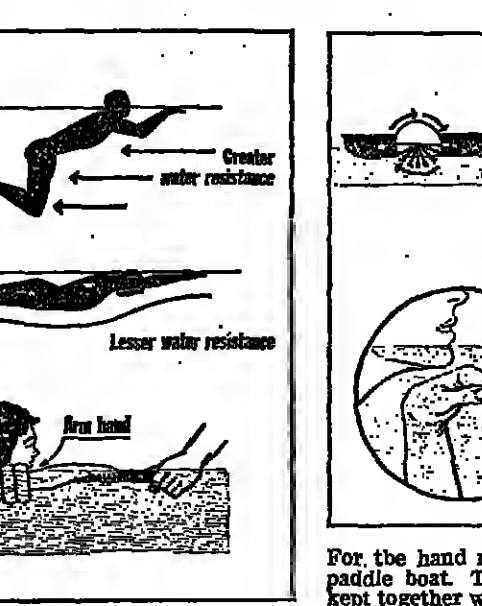


In the leg kick, the movement starts from the thigh. It's like walking with a small 18-inch stride and not bending the knees as if riding a bicycle. The action should be relaxed with toes turned in slightly, and feet flexible rather than pointed.

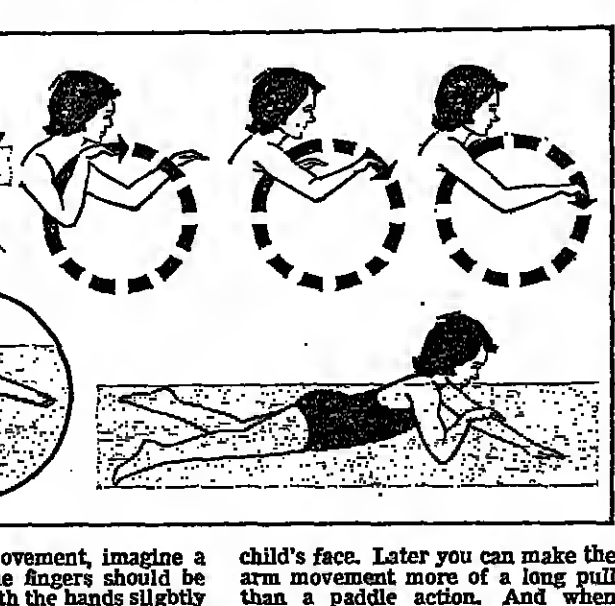


In the pool, with armbands fully inflated, give the child a kicking float (polystyrene is best but cork or balsa wood or even an inflated ball or cushion will do, providing it floats well). Get him to lie flat on the surface to get used to

presenting a streamlined body in the water. Because there is less resistance in this position, the body cuts through the water more freely; the drawings show why. Hold the float at the front when he first tries the leg kick.



For the hand movement, imagine a paddle boat. The fingers should be kept together with the hands slightly cupped to stop the water escaping through. They should press forward and down in a continuous circular movement starting under the chin; this will help to keep the head above the water. Remember to ensure that the hands remain under the surface to prevent water splashing in the



child's face. Later you can make the arm movement more of a long pull than a paddle action. And when your child has mastered the dog paddle with armbands fully inflated, gradually let the air out of them until he feels confident that he can do without them. Practise until the stroke is well mastered.

NEXT WEEK: We're ready for the front crawl.

## Bug Ban

AHORRIFIC horse disease, which could have wrought havoc on British racing but for Wednesday's prompt Government ban on imported bloodstock from the Western Hemisphere, was given incredibly sparse coverage in the racing Press. The disease, equine encephalitis (an insect-carried brain virus, fatal to horses although not dangerous to man) infiltrated two weeks ago from South America the 19th Derby winners, Mill Reef, Nijinsky and Sir Ivor.

With yearling sales now on in America, we expected reports on the mood of alarm and dismay among bloodstock agents and trainers which is in sharp contrast to the Government calm. While the Ministry of Agriculture assure us that they intend issuing a licence, Frank Moore O'Farrell, of the Anglo-Irish Agency, predicts: "The ban will have a bell of an effect. What's the point of buying American horses? They must have it stay in America for keeps."

Trainer Bernard van Coten admits that his first reaction was to cancel a trip to the Keeland Sales. But he says he will now go, "even though it could cost me a fortune before we get our yearlings."

The significance of this sort of delay is emphasised by Ian Bolding, trainer of Mill Reef: "Mr (Paul) Molloy once experimented by sending the yearlings over here in February and then won a race. They must get acclimatised by wintering in England." Optimistic? Sam Armstrong points out: "I've had the sort of problem before, but I've always managed to get permits to bring my purchases back."

From America, John de Shanin tells us that with the disease well under control, there is no reason for panic. Nevertheless, three must be some pretty frightened underwriters at Lloyds.

**CONSUMER NOTE:** The addition of a lower grip weighing 1.5 oz was the official reason Slazengers gave a player injured by the breakage of a shaft of an almost unused lightweight squash racket. Yet Slazengers have refused, after nine months' correspondence, to return the player that they publish a statement warning of the folly of adding towel grips. A pity since the firm advertise both rackets and towel grips in the same brochure, without any instruction or guidance as to fitting.

## Pele? Impossible!

WE rarely indulge in the Sunday newspaper football transfer/retirement guessing game, although we confess to being a little bit of a Pele fan.

Last week we were tempted again, by talk of Pele becoming a Parisian after his "final" international bow against Yugoslavia in Rio this afternoon. Guy Pele, President of the Guy Pele Football Club, promoted Paris Saint Germain, had just returned we were told

# Insk trac

from Brazil "confide in me that the world footballer will be spanning new £8 million and spend next seas German colours. But they have t Crescent's boasts in out last year's report rising 31, plans to on three years hence. Certainly Santos because they have Pel just signed a £400,000 Pepsi Cola to play matches in the U during pauses in the pionship programme

**JOHN SNOW**, England attack opor his timing just per day he publishes o of poems. Contru d'Arco's Smith has 10p, hardback £1.65) own literary collec "Sportsmen poets a it must be rorer counter one with su interpretations talen immediate simplicity feeling. The shor poems about Pakista ally appealing; like water-colours."

## Help Out

IF anyone has done combat the social epilepsy it is Oly Alan Blinston, who BBC's "The World After the Publication of Health's report Society. Yet the wo Alert Foundation, sportsment can do a protect themselves, taneously prone, i others to lead active

In the USA, base Hal Lanier and Casper with TV st Rowan of Laugh-I helped to push me 425,000, compared t Britain. They wear bracelets or necka with medical info bershship number a number of implemting service, use. It costs £2 me: membership.

The trouble is o are too shy. We a to tell us of fello he replied: "I kno epileptic internat name. I am sworn o name." But diabe touchy, the Brit Association listing baller Andy Penna player Roger Mills, cricketing Sumy R Australian swimmer among its member Would Blinston: rolling for Medic typical reaction a who? However, President of Guy Pele Football Club, promoted Paris Saint Germain, had just returned we were told

## Appointments

### GENERAL ENGINEERING

#### IN A RUT?

Find out at any age how to use your talents. Free brochure: Career Development Centre, 100, 101-103, 104-105, 106-107, 108-109, 110-111, 112-113, 114-115, 116-117, 118-119, 120-121, 122-123, 124-125, 126-127, 128-129, 130-131, 132-133, 134-135, 136-137, 138-139, 140-141, 142-143, 144-145, 146-147, 148-149, 150-151, 152-153, 154-155, 156-157, 158-159, 160-161, 162-163, 164-165, 166-167, 168-169, 170-171, 172-173, 174-175, 176-177, 178-179, 180-181, 182-183, 184-185, 186-187, 188-189, 190-191, 192-193, 194-195, 196-197, 198-199, 200-201, 202-203, 204-205, 206-207, 208-209, 210-211, 212-213, 214-215, 216-217, 218-219, 220-221, 222-223, 224-225, 226-227, 228-229, 230-231, 232-233, 234-235, 236-237, 238-239, 240-241, 242-243, 244-245, 246-247, 248-249, 250-251, 252-253, 254-255, 256-257, 258-259, 260-261, 262-263, 264-265, 266-267, 268-269, 270-271, 272-273, 274-275, 276-277, 278-279, 280-281, 282-283, 284-285, 286-287, 288-289, 290-291, 292-293, 294-295, 296-297, 298-299, 300-301, 302-303, 304-305, 306-307, 308-309, 310-311, 312-313, 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